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A VISIT TO GREECE

IN THE SPRING OF 1825.

BY

GIUSEPPE PECCHIO.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE Iliad has not perhaps had so many commentators as the present war of Greece. The number of books on the subject is a good omen, and proves the interest which the event inspires. As the beauty of the Iliad excited admiration, so has the justice of the Greek cause daily augmented the number of its advocates.

Under the auspices of this public attention I venture to publish a hasty account of what I saw during my residence in Greece, from the 20th of April to the 11th of June in the present year.

This account of mine will, perhaps, differ from what has been written by travellers who have preceded me: and still this diversity may not be the fault of any of us. The scene of a revolution is moving, varied, and inconstant. The motives and passions which agitate a people struggling for their independence and the vicissitudes of fortune, either prosperous or adverse, frequently change their aspect and character as a nation. The picture, therefore, of such a people, like that of a gladiator through all the passages of a fight, will appear in different views according to the moment in which it is taken.

I make this observation, being desirous of preserving a good understanding with my predecessors, whom I consider, in this affair, *as my good and powerful allies.*

With this idea, I cannot refrain from making mention of two books upon Greece, which I have read with great pleasure and profit—"*A Visit to Greece in* 1823 *and* 1824, *by George Waddington, Esq.* and — *An Historical Outline of the Greek Revolution.*"

The remarks upon Greece, contained in Mr. Waddington's book, are particularly accurate, and the author has undoubtedly traversed that country with attention, diligence, and impartiality. Frequently have I trod in his footsteps, and found all his narrative exact. Several Greeks who were acquainted with him, told me, that he appeared to them to be naturally a man of cold manners; my answer to them was, "Because he did not wish to cheat or be cheated!"

As regards *The Outline,* I should like to know the name of the Author, in order to present him with my congratulations. I carried some copies of the work with me to Greece, and presented them to the government of the country. Were the Greeks disposed to follow the counsels of wisdom, they could not possibly select a better Mentor than that book.

London—1825. G. P.

A

VISIT TO GREECE

IN THE

SPRING OF 1825.

——most of all,
Albion! to thee: the ocean queen should not
Abandon ocean's children.—BYRON.

EVERY thing promised success to Greece when I left England at the beginning of March. The recognition of the independence of the South American republics induced an expectation, not without foundation in reason, that a similar act was at hand in regard to Greece. A second loan, contracted by the Greek Government at the same period, placed that Government in a condition to commence a vigorous campaign. The dissolution of the English

Levant Company was, moreover, one obstacle less that the cause would have to encounter in the interests of a privileged body of merchants. A French committee, composed of many distinguished persons, established in Paris to favour the instruction of the Greek youth, appeared to reanimate the sympathy of the French nation in favour of the cause. And lastly, the Government had triumphed over its internal enemies. I departed, therefore, full of confidence that I should become a spectator of the ultimate triumph of a people, who for four years past have been combating, with various success, for their liberties. But my presentiment was illusory. The fortune of Greece changed all at once; and, on my arrival there, I found a prospective very different from what I had imagined, as will be seen in the sequel.—My hopes were changed to fears.

After a fifty days' voyage we finally cast anchor before Napoli di Romania. This city is seated at the foot of a gigantic and abrupt

rock; the Palamidi Castles, in appearance impregnable, rest on its summit; a palm-tree raises its head above the turreted walls, like the banner of the climate; Argos, and the beautiful plain of Argos, lie in front of the guph; and the snowy summit of the frowning Taygetus rises on the left; all the scenery around renders the view of Napoli di Romania one of the most picturesque in the world. But as soon as the stranger puts his foot on shore, his enthusiasm ceases, the enchantment disappears. The narrow streets, the houses meanly built, the air heavy and impregnated with fetid smells, strike him with disgust. The nuisances, in short, are such, that it would be the labour of Hercules to remove them.—This is one of the causes of an epidemic and almost exterminating fever, which raged during the last year. When I disembarked, the disorder had but just ceased; and we still met in the roads the livid countenances of those who had been infected. Possibly, this epidemic will reappear with the heat,

as the Government has taken no precaution to eradicate it. The Greeks have in some measure inherited the fatalism of the Turks. The latter are accustomed to the plague, and the former are becoming so to the epidemia.

Napoli di Romania is surnamed, from its situation and its aspect, the Gibraltar of the Archipelago. In appearance it merits this epithet; but with respect to its strength, I fear that it would be Gibraltar when in the hands of the Spaniards. Some officers who visited it with an eye of experience, told me that it was in a miserable state of defence. It is destitute of provisions, artillery, and artillery-men; the few cannon which are mounted have not carriages capable of resisting a dozen discharges. It possesses no one advantage but the commander of the Palamidi, General Fotomara, a Suliot, who has grown grey alike in arms and in sentiments of honour. The diversions of this capital consist of some ill-furnished

coffee-houses and cracked billiards; an evening promenade in a small square, overshadowed in the midst by a friendly and majestic plain-tree; and in the indulgence of an eager curiosity, constantly excited by news and anecdotes. Woman, that compensation for every calamity and privation, is invisible, as the men do not allow her to be seen. For more than five-and-twenty centuries the fair sex in Greece have been condemned, under various pretexts, to domestic confinement. The ancient Greeks, that they might preserve their manners pure, kept them almost from the contact of the air, and imprisoned them in the gynæceum; subsequently the Turks shut them up in harems; and the modern Greeks, through jealousy, keep them secluded from society.

The population of this city is fluctuating, as it depends on contingencies. It may, however, amount to 15,000. There can be no doubt that, according to its scale, it is the most popu-

lous capital in the world; for the houses are so small, and the people so confined, that in every room are found three or four inhabitants.

I was desirous of paying a visit to the members of the Government. Without any introduction, without any ceremony, my desire was soon accomplished. They are accessible to all, and at all hours of the day. They are not lodged in a palace. The Government-house belongs to none of the known orders of architecture—but when, and where has Liberty had its cradle of gold?—It is a wild-flower that blooms among thorns and precipices. At the head of a clumsy wooden staircase I found them seated, or rather squatting, on cushions, which formed around the room a sort of sofa. The costume, the reclined position, the serious immobility of countenance of every member, made me at first believe myself before a divan. The vice-president, Signor Botazi, of Spezzia, with his legs crossed, was counting the beads

of an oriental rosary. The rest of the members, clad in a costume between Grecian and Turkish, were either smoking, or running over a similar trinket. At Paris and in London it is insisted that the Greeks are no longer Turkish; and that, wishing to enter into the great European family, they ought to divest themselves of their ancient practices, and adopt the habits and customs of the new family, which is anxious to embrace them as brothers. Such a sentiment is reasonable enough, but it is premature. To change the habits and dress of a whole people, is not so easy as are the theatrical transformations of Paris and London. What labour did not Peter the Great encounter in cutting the beards of his Muscovites, and in casing them in a Prussian uniform! The fact is, that the Greeks sit *à la Turque*, (and will continue to do so for a long time to come.) They eat pilaw *à la Turque;* they smoke with long pipes; they write with their left

hand; they walk out accompanied by a troop of armed people; they salute; they sleep; and they loiter about, all *à la Turque*. Thus, in stead of abandoning the habits of their oppressors, they appear, since the revolution, to have followed them even more closely. They make a display of wearing the turban trimmed with white, the red *papauchi*, and, in short, (*horribile dictu!*) of throwing around them the green cafetan,—three terrible prohibitions in the time of Turkish despotism. They therefore, from the pleasure of revenge, and as a sign of triumph, love to do all that their tyrants formerly interdicted, in order that the slave might not resemble his master. Besides this, the Greek people are accustomed to venerate only vestments loaded with gold and silver and pearls, which the Pachas cause to be respected (with the executioner always at their side); whilst under our European dress the people distinguish nothing but ambulating doc-

tors. The women, who are invariably captivated by the brilliant and the magnificent, cannot bear the sight of our simplicity, so mean in comparison of eastern pomp; and this preference of the fair sex will doubtless long be a great obstacle to any change of the national dress.

The Government is composed of five individuals, and of a Secretary of State. The President and Secretary of State were absent on my arrival: they were at the camp of Navarino. I shall give an account of them hereafter. Botazi, a fresh-looking old man, who holds the post of Vice-president, is a rich merchant of Spezzia,—perhaps the richest man there; he, however, speaks only Greek. Had he been practised in public affairs, he would be an excellent magistrate, having the reputation of a sound patriot. Mauromicali, a Spartan, and one of the members of the family of Petro Bey, who has made the most painful sacrifices for the liberty of his country, is also unacquainted with any foreign language. He

may be versed in the arts of diplomacy, but he has the stamp on his countenance of a nobleness of character which he has never belied. I have had no opportunity of becoming acquainted with Spigliotachi, another of the members of the Government, and a native of the Peloponnesus. Of him I have heard neither good nor ill. Lastly, Coletti is the head of a party who, to great natural intelligence, unites an European degree of information. He is a native of Epirus, and was from his youth esteemed by Ali Pacha, who maintained him during his studies at the university of Pavia; he afterwards became physician to Mouktar, the son of Ali Pacha. He speaks and writes Italian well: he affects a style of dress rather Turkish than Grecian; nevertheless, under an imperturbable gravity, altogether Turkish, may be discerned in his countenance the Greek vivacity and cunning. From his lofty deportment every one perceives that he has been educated in the seraglio of an Eastern despot.

It would be useless to make mention of the seven existing ministers, as they exercise no authority. The Government leaves them nothing but the name. It assumes every duty itself; for it does not yet recognize the utility of a division of labour.

The legislative body is very ill lodged. In a short time, however, its sittings will be transferred to a mosque, which has been converted into a senatorial chamber. The number of the legislators exceeds eighty; but there are only fifty present, the rest being employed on extraordinary services. Many of them are habited in the European style. The president, Notara, is generally venerated—not so much for the ancient nobility of his family, though it is perhaps the most illustrious in the Morea, as for the candour of his disposition. Tricupi of Missolonghi is the most eloquent of their orators. Although there are many warm parties in the assembly, the dissensions have hitherto been carried on with great decorum.

On the 24th of April, three days after I had arrived in Napoli, the news arrived that the Greek camp at Cremidi had sustained a defeat from the Egyptians, with a loss of 140 men; amongst whom were generals Zafiropulo, Xidi, and colonels Eleuteri and Cormoriti.

It is here necessary, in order to render clear my account of the events which I witnessed, to refer to some of the transactions which occurred a few months before my arrival, and which almost totally changed the situation of Greece.

During the last autumn, the chiefs of the Morea, Zaimi, Londo, Diliani, and Sessini, desirous of participating in the Government, intimated, with arms in their hands, that, according to the convention, the two bodies, the executive and the legislative, should be renewed, the year of their legal duration having expired. Colocotroni, with other generals, joined them, and consented to become their instrument—with the intention of seizing afterwards for himself the whole power.

The government, threatened at that moment on many points by the enemy, did not think such a change either prudent or practicable. It armed itself, therefore, with great vigour, to repel a request which had more the appearance of rebellion than of a simple claim. It spared neither money nor flattery to draw over the principal commanders of the Roumeliots, and to induce their entrance into the Morea. Coletti was entrusted with this expedition; and, by an unexpected celerity and artful expedients, he conquered, dispersed, and disarmed the insurgents, and compelled the chief of them to surrender to the Government, with the exception of Zaimi and Londo, who found refuge beyond the Morea. The Government, after this success, desiring to profit by the troops assembled in the Morea, amounting to seven or eight thousand men, determined seriously to lay siege to Patras, and to compel at once its surrender. The success against the insurgents, and the ascendency which Coletti

exercised over the Roumeliot Capitani, seemed to have pointed him out as the commander best adapted for this enterprise; but his rivals, who feared his increase of power and reputation, envied him, and sought to snatch from him such an opportunity of distinguishing himself. In the mean time, Ibrahim Pacha, to whom were known these civil discords amongst the Greeks, did not hesitate to take advantage of the occasion to disembark in the Morea, and surprise Navarino (Neo Castro). About the middle of February, he landed at Modon, with 14,000 regular troops, and a few days after invested that city. Coletti, who might have been able, with his tried promptitude, to oppose the Egyptians, was recalled to the bosom of the Government; and the president, who had never been accustomed to arms, undertook to become himself general-in-chief. To his inexperience was joined great delicacy of health; he lost several days in Tripolizza, labouring under a fever, and afterwards established his head-quarters at

Scala, *four hours* distant from the Greek camp; a distance too great to admit of his easily directing its operations. It was therefore necessary to delegate his power to some other general. Whether to avoid the rivalry which existed amongst the Roumeliot Capitani, who all aspired to the supreme command, or from partiality towards a countryman of his own, the president chose for general-in-chief, a Hydriot captain, Scurti, who had no experience in land-service. This unhappy choice was followed by an issue still more unhappy. On the morning of the 19th of April, the Greeks were unexpectedly attacked by the Egyptians. Many of the Roumeliot Capitani fought on that day with the greatest valour: some of them, transported with too much ardour (Giavella was amongst the number), imprudently descended into the plain. The enemy, superior in cavalry, in arms, and in discipline, repelled the Greeks at different points, and killed 140 men, and amongst them four commanders.

When this distressing news reached Napoli,

it filled all ranks with consternation. Since the battle of Peta in 1822, in which the Greeks lost about 200 men, they had not sustained so heavy a disaster. In all the other battles, they had been accustomed to lose no more than ten, fifteen, or twenty soldiers. When Marco Botzari fell, only eleven combatants fell with him. A soldier of Wagram or Waterloo may perhaps smile at the description of these battles, as we smile on reading the war of the frogs and the mice in Homer; but the destiny of nations does not always depend on great slaughter. At Marathon, the Athenians saved their country with the sole loss of 192 heroes! Sometimes the death of a few men drew along with it the ruin of the Italian republics of the middle ages. What are the battles of Bolivar but skirmishes, compared with those of Napoleon? Yet their result will be more lasting and more glorious.

This discomfiture of the Greeks was the more humiliating and distressing, as it was sustained

by the Suliots and the Roumeliots, the most distinguished troops of Greece. Amongst a people who are not numerous, the combatants excite a much more lively interest than in an extensive nation. Every one knows the topography of the country; every one knows, almost by name, the combatants; every one is informed of the acts of his neighbour, his friend, and his relative. I was myself most highly interested at hearing the descriptions of individual prowess, on approaching the different groups of persons whom I met scattered in the streets. The Greeks have lost none of their ancient loquacity; and I experienced extreme delight in seeing revive before my eyes those scenes described by Demosthenes, and that unoccupied, curious, and garrulous multitude running about in search of news of Philip.

I was most anxious to fulfil the engagements I had made of delivering some letters to the pre-

sident in person; and at the same time wished to view with my own eyes the theatre of war. I took advantage, therefore, of the company of General Roche, who was charged with a complimentary mission to the president. General Roche was sent to Greece by the Committee at Paris, to whom the choice does honour. He is an old soldier, of a martial aspect, sensible, frank, amiable—as are usually most of the French *à vieilles moustaches*. I thanked Fortune for procuring me a fellow-traveller so useful and so agreeable.

Surrounded by ten Palicari, who escorted us on the road, mounted upon lean horses, followed by six asses and mules that carried our baggage and servants, our little caravan entered Argos about dusk. This capital of the ancient monarchy of "the far-reigning Agamemnon," is at present a city containing at most 10,000 inhabitants. Its streets are wide and regular; its houses, principally of wood, with

projecting wooden porticoes, light and elegant. In this revolution, first the Turks, and afterwards the Greeks, eagerly contributed to its destruction. It is now rising again from its ruins. The eparch, or prefect, with his counsellors, and the other chiefs of the city, took us, whilst our supper was preparing, to view the site chosen for the new university. Signor Warvachi, a rich Greek merchant, left at his death a fund for this object, consisting of the interest of above one hundred thousand francs. This city has bought, to be built upon for the purpose, the large square space of a Turkish bazaar, of which there only remain the surrounding walls, with a fountain in the centre. But what was my pleasure, when I beheld a School for mutual instruction, built expressly by the Government, and opened only last December! It is upon the plan of the English schools; but is too confined for the two hundred children who frequent it. Attached to it

is a dwelling for the master, who acquired the method of tuition at Bucharest, from Signor Cleobulo; the latter having been taught, as I apprehend, at the schools in Paris. The establishment is attended by both boys and girls, who are kept separate from each other. A lady of Scio, to remove the inconvenience of having them together, and to obtain at the same time an adequate education for the girls, proposes to build for them a school adjacent; and already the means of effecting it are under consideration. I mention expressly this circumstance, to bring to notice those beneficent ladies of Edinburgh, who, as I have read in the journals, have adopted the generous intention of promoting the education of the Greek girls. We saw, besides, the rising walls of a Greek church, which is building within the ruins of a mosque, that had once been constructed from the wreck of a former Greek church; while the latter, perhaps, owed its origin to the

remains of an ancient temple. Thus rolls the wheel of fortune; and the world is but destruction and reproduction from the same materials.

On returning home a young damsel poured water upon all our hands.

> "The golden ewer a maid obsequious brings
> Replenish'd from the cool, translucent springs;
> With copious water the bright vase supplies,
> A silver laver of capacious size:
> They wash."*

After this ablution we sat down, cross-legged, upon carpets, around a table covered with kid, lamb, pilaw, and coagulated milk, which is eaten mixed with the pilaw, new goat's cheese and oranges. From time to time

> ——"Observant round
> Gay stripling youths the brimming goblets crown'd."*

A young Palicari handed round a silver cup filled with wine. Having drank to the inde-

* Odyssey.

pendance of Greece, and washed our hands again, we arose, and the same damsel spread upon the carpets, skins and coverings that served for our bed:

> Meantime Achilles' *maids* * prepared a bed
> With fleeces, carpets, and soft linen spread:
> There, till the sacred morn restored the day,
> In slumbers sweet the reverend Phœnix lay.
>
> *Iliad*, Book ix.

I cite Homer, not from an ostentation of knowledge, but to show the reader how many of the most ancient customs of Greece are preserved after so many ages, invasions, conquests, calamities, and vicissitudes.

Early the following morning we set out for Tripolizza. I hailed the castle of Argos, which is placed on the summit of an isolated mountain, commanding the city. I hailed it the more cordially, for having, in 1822, stopped the march of Raschid Pacha's army. The

* Pope has "*slaves*."

Greek Government, forgetful of its services, neglects and allows it to go to ruin. It is decaying, like Aristides of old, in misery.

After an unpleasant ride of nine hours we arrived at Tripolizza, which lies at the bottom of the beautiful plain that bears its name. We were surprised at seeing outside the gate a multitude of people, and a long file of Palicari; and were still more so on observing a turbaned horseman, who, richly clothed, was coming on a Turkish horse full gallop towards us. He had the aspect of one of the Abencerrages, described in the wars of Grenada. All this ceremony constituted the honours of hospitality, with which the inhabitants of Tripolizza were desirous of receiving General Roche. The cavalier who came to meet us was Colonel Xidi, the commandant of the place, and brother of the general who fell in the battle of the 19th of April. As he drew near us, he discharged his two pistols, and then performed

the Greek salutation, by placing his right hand upon his heart. The General testified much grief for the loss of his brother. The graceful colonel replied, "Happy should we Greeks be, to fall by a death like his." We entered the city in the midst of a crowd of people, and were lodged at the house of the minister of the interior, which is one of the few Turkish houses in Tripolizza remaining uninjured by the rage and vengeance of the Greeks. Looking around I beheld here and there heaps of ruins. The seraglio, or palace, of the Pacha who resided there before the revolution in this former capital of the Morea, is razed to its foundations, together with the harem, baths, and mosque which it enclosed in its ample circumference. The Turkish cemeteries, however, remained safe from Greek vengeance. Tripolizza is beginning to be repeopled, and to revive from the wretchedness into which the sack of the Greeks in 1822 had plunged

it. This city, while it was yet the capital of the Morea, and the residence of the Pacha, contained about 35 or 40,000 inhabitants. Amongst these were only 3000 Greeks; the rest of the population consisted of Turks, and the descendants of renegade Greeks. At present the inhabitants amount to 15,000, owing to the influx of people from all quarters hastening to seek a refuge. For a thousand dollars may be bought at Tripolizza a house and garden, in a delicious climate, a healthy air, and a delightful situation. The city stands at the end of a vast plain, surrounded by mountains, between the ancient Tegea, Mantinea, and Pallanteum. Perhaps it arose from the ruins of these three cities, as its name implies. It is not strong, or capable of sustaining a siege. It is surrounded by a wall with barbicans, and flanked with towers, which the Turks erected as a defence against the incursions of the *klephti* (robbers) who

dwell in the neighbouring mountains. Colocotroni, before the revolution, entered it sometimes by surprise, in spite of its walls. The city sustained a siege in 1822, when there were 9000 Turks shut up in it and 3000 Albanians; the Greeks, to assault it, had nothing but a mob of peasantry armed with implements of agriculture, sticks, a few thousand musquets, and a very few pieces of cannon.

The Greeks have learnt from the Turks the art of loitering away their time. In Greece visiting begins at seven o'clock in the morning. Every one who believes himself a gentleman, thinks it a duty and a right to pay his visits to a foreigner of distinction. At seven o'clock the following morning our Turkish chamber (decorated with coloured glass and covered with verses from the Koran, its walls painted in arabesque, and the ceiling with green varnish resembling emerald) was filled with serious, grave, and silent forms, who, after having

touched their hearts with the right hand, squatted down in a circle; next, for a few minutes sipped a cup of coffee, and then smoked the pipe which the host infallibly offers them. The levee of a European court is perhaps less absurd, and less solemn, than these visits of ceremony in the Levant.

A few hours after, we proceeded to return the visits of those who had honoured us with their grave and silent presence, according to the custom of the country. Colonel Xidi was at dinner with some of his fellow soldiers, in a room hung with the most elegant Turkish arms, with bridles, embroidered saddles, and other implements of war. There hung from the wall a Turkish scimitar with a silver-gilt sheath, which had belonged to General Xidi. This scimitar was worth 100*l.* sterling. The splendour of the arms amongst both Turks and Greeks amounts to a passion; as with us, that of Etruscan vases, pictures, and medals. There

hung, besides, from the walls a large silver-gilt reliquary surrounded with coral and gold fringe, which the Greek captains suspend from their neck the moment of entering battle. St. Demetrius, St. Constantine, St. Helena now grant that protection in war, which Mars, Apollo, and Venus extended to the ancient Greeks. The banner of the deceased general was folded in token of grief. On the point were engraved these words, "God, Country, Hope, Charity." The banner is a spear with a long heart, which springs from a ball, under which are the arms of the cross.

"All bedeck'd with gold so gay,
And in its top is a holy cross,
That shines as bright as the day." *

We were shown, in a group of Roumeliot soldiers who were standing intently looking at us, the brave man who in the battle saved this banner, by running with it for several hours, pursued by the enemy's cavalry. We were shown, besides,

* Ancient Ballad.

a youth of the age of fourteen, who would not quit the general when he fell mortally wounded. The general ordered him to save himself, but he, concealed in a hollow, slew an Egyptian who was passing, and took his musquet which he was carrying with him, into Roumelia as a trophy. A few paces from the apartments a wounded soldier was extended on the ground, who had in vain exerted all his courage to bear away in safety his general. The colonel augmented his grief by sorrowful recollections, and on bidding us farewell, said, " that he lived only to avenge his brother."

Amongst those from whom we received politeness in Tripolizza, I must not forget prince Demetrius Ipsilanti, who was as courteous to us as he is to all the travellers who visit him. He is bald, short in stature, and of a slight form; but if nature has not gifted him with a military presence, I was assured that he had always shown himself intrepid in war. He adopts the European

habits—and speaks French well. He once served in Russia in the rank of a major, and still speaks of Russia with some sympathy. After having fought, in the first years of the revolution, for the liberty of his country, for the last two years he has been living remote from public affairs at Tripolizza. Whatever may be his reasons for discontent, Solon would not have pardoned him such a neutrality. On quitting the table, which was covered with Turkish viands, some one whispered to me, "The prince has a Turkish palate, a Russian head, and a Greek heart."

The following day it was announced that the Roumeliots and Suliots, who formed part of the camp at Cremidi, had abandoned the army, and were encamped near Tripolizza. In fact, the chiefs of these troops, offended at the preference shown by the president, in giving the command to the Hydriot, Scurti, who had conducted them to slaughter and to the shame of discomfiture, and instigated by the faction opposed to the

president and Mavrocordato, would no longer fight under the orders of the president, and resolved to return into Western Greece to defend their fire-sides.

Having read in the excellent collection of Greek songs of Mr. Fauriel the almost fabulous prowess of this warlike race, I burned with curiosity to become acquainted with these hardy mountaineers, who, rather than dwell with Turks, prefer *to live with wild beasts in their solitudes, and in the heart of the mountains.**

The first person whom I visited with General Roche was General Georgio Caraiscachi, a native of Arta. He resided in a mean dwelling, beyond the Argos gate. He was sitting upon a carpet, gorgeously dressed in embroidered gold and silver. Near the wall was hanging his musquet, covered with arabesque in silver. The room was crowded with soldiers, a troop of whom never quit their chief, but follow him every where.

* Canzone dello Sterghios.

Caraiscachi was a klepht by profession before the revolution; he is of a middle stature, of a dry aspect, an astute countenance, and very prompt in his replies. General Roche, by means of an interpreter, commenced a discussion upon various political subjects. Our host, with an ironical air, and with much address, sported on the most delicate points. Being asked by the general, whether he thought it advantageous that the national assembly of the ensuing October should extend the duration of the Government to five years instead of one—he replied, "Soldiers ought not to occupy themselves with such inquiries—it is their business to obey." "As you have seen," added the general, "by the last battle the superiority of the European discipline over mere courage, are you not of opinion that it would be advantageous to Greece to employ a corps of regular American troops to oppose the regulars of Ibrahim Pacha?" "I believe it might," replied the artful klepht, "but I fear that Greece is not in

a condition to receive, and treat them as they are treated in Europe." The general continued: "Do you not think it advisable that the Government should pardon Colocotroni, and replace him at the head of the army at this important crisis?" To this question an old warrior, who was standing at my side, replied: "Unhappy is that nation whose fortune depends upon a single man—better to perish than depend on one man." He who uttered this opinion worthy of ancient times, was Gioia Pano of Suli, a lieutenant-colonel; he had served a long time in one of the Albanian regiments, which many years ago were in the pay of England, and was in Gaeta on its siege by Massena. General Roche, hearing this circumstance, offered him his hand, saying, "Let us join hands, and from enemies, as we then were, let us now become friends. I was in the army besieging Gaeta at that time." This unexpected advance drew a smile of complacency from the austere countenances that were observing us.

The grenadier height of the general, and his frank manners, pleased these wild soldiers.

The next we visited was Giavella. Chiccio Giavella of Suli is the son of Foto Giavella, who was one of the most valiant and sincere patriots among the Suliots. When these desired to treat with Ali Pacha, Foto Giavella set fire to his house, choosing rather to see it in ashes than profaned by some satellite of Ali. This man at fourteen years of age remained as hostage for his father in the hands of Ali Pacha. When Veli, the son of Ali, communicated to him that he was waiting immediate orders from the Pacha to burn him alive—as his father had not fulfilled his promise of confirming a capitulation disgraceful to his countrymen, he replied, "My father will then slay your Albanians, and may perhaps seize you and your father, and will burn you in return." His son is a young man of thirty, of a middle stature, with lively sparkling eyes, and of impetuous courage. In the battle of the 19th, he

narrowly escaped being cut to pieces, through his temerity, by the enemy's cavalry. His dress and his arms were refulgent with gold and silver, his *Pesgli* (vest) was of green velvet, bordered with red, and embroidered in silver. The arms and dress of a *capitano* often cost more than 10,000 francs. The general also asked him if he believed a corps of regular troops necessary in Greece. He replied that he was more than ever convinced of it, especially after the fatal experience of the last battle. The general intimated that he had suggested to the minister of war (Adam Ducas) to organize in Greece a national guard, distributed into a stationary and an active corps—as is done in several states of Europe. Giavella replied, that he considered it a useful institution, and that he would recommend it to the minister.

A painter might have made a picture of Constantine Botzari, when we went to visit him in his bivouac. He was standing under a large

poplar, his warriors made a circle around him —all standing. Neither gold nor silver glittered on his person. His dress was simple and modest like his character. Over a *pesgli* of light blue cloth, he wore a white capote of long goat's hair, the usual capote of the Suliots. Accustomed to distinguish the commander of these troops by the richness of their dress and their arms, we were making a survey around whilst we were already before him. A carpet spread upon the grass, for his convenience, was his only distinction. A profound silence reigned in this assembly of immoveable warriors. Botzari was quietly smoking; he received us coldly, and yet kindly. He is from Suli, and the brother of Marco Botzari, the Leonidas of the Greek revolution. He is thick-limbed and robust, though of the middle stature, and is said to resemble his brother. His is the name dearest to the Suliots, of all the surviving names of that martial colony. His soldiers are almost all Suliots;

and amongst them are many of his own relatives, who follow him in his wars, and, more from love than from right, always fight at his side. General Roche announced to Botzari that the French committee had selected the son of Marco Botzari to be educated in France. Botzari replied, that he was grateful to the committee; and that he wished his nephew to become well-informed.

The *Gen.* "Are you versed in the history of the ancient Greeks, and their deeds?"

Botz. "We have not read their history, but we have heard it."

Gen. "The career you pursue will procure you honour amongst your contemporaries, and immortality with posterity."

Botz. "The aim of our actions is solely the good of our country."

Gen. "The death of your brother will always redound to the glory of the Greeks."

Botz. "The Greeks only desire a death like his."

Gen. "Is there amongst the Suliots, any one who bears the name of some illustrious ancient?"

At this question, a cousin of Botzari, who was standing behind him, in a resolute tone answered:—"The heart, and not the name, makes the hero."

Gen. "Should you like to have a king in Greece?"

Botz. "I think that a king would be desirable for the good of Greece in its present circumstances."

The general had purposely proposed this question to many other chiefs; and the answer of them all agreed with that of Botzari. I know not, to speak plainly, if confidence is to be placed in the sincerity of these answers; as the Capitani appeared too condescending, either from politeness or from dissimulation.

Constantine Botzari, as I have already observed, is the idol of his companions in arms.

In the last affair of the 19th of April, they saved him at the price of their blood. He was dismounted from his horse by an Egyptian officer, who was on the point of taking him prisoner. His soldiers and relatives, ashamed of losing their captain, resolved to save him at all hazards. They made a hedge around him with their bodies, they fight retreating, they thrust him along, they carry him nearly a mile; when the enemy presses forward, they make head against him; they fight, they fall, and replace each other, and in this manner, leaving seventeen of their dead on the field, they bear him off in safety; and they not only recover his horse, but they take from their enemies whom they had slain, twelve of their's. In this conflict, which renews the battles of the Iliad, six brothers, relatives of Botzari, fell, to preserve his life and the honour of the Suliots.

On taking leave, Constantine Botzari kissed us on the mouth. This is the most tender kiss

of friendship that can be given in Greece. I have always thought that the Italian painters, in representing the deeds of Roman story, exaggerated the colouring and the form they give to the Roman soldiers. Those stern countenances, those athletic limbs, that dusky flesh, appeared to me caricatured. However, after having seen the Roumeliots and the Suliots, I am convinced there is nothing in those pictures out of nature. The Roumeliots and the Suliots are the finest and most robust race of men I have hitherto beheld. Their skin, always exposed to the sun, is literally the colour of bronze. Their breast is ample as a cuirass. Nature, besides, has gifted them with a rich head of hair, which they leave thick and flowing, and which would be much more beautiful if they had not adopted the practice of shaving it off the temples. The Greeks have always had a great affection for an abundant head of hair. Homer, amongst the many epithets with which

he qualifies his countrymen, uses that of "fair-haired Greeks." The greater part of them are born and die soldiers. From childhood they wear at their sides pistols and a sabre, which they never put aside. Like the other soldiers in Greece, they are obliged to provide themselves with clothing and arms. Their pay is a ration of bread, and twelve paras a day for their provisions, and twenty-five piastres a month for their other expenses. They have neither tents nor beds, nor shelter. The bed is the capote — a stone their pillow — their canopy a sky always serene. During the whole time of a campaign they never undress, or change their shirts. They are therefore horribly filthy; but, on the other hand, their arms are always clean and shining. When they wake, their first thought is to polish and put them in exact order. They are extravagantly fond of handsome and rich arms, which, glittering with gold and silver, make a strange contrast with their blackened shirts. They have

not besides either knapsack, or bag to contain any thing. Well-made in all respects, they are strong as lions, and active as goats. I saw the noble grenadiers of Napoleon, and I know the superb English guards; but the Suliots appear to me to surpass both. Their carriage, their bearing, are quite theatrical. They always fight scattered; every one chooses his post. They are not accustomed to combat with their bodies exposed. Like the ancients who covered themselves with their shields, they lie flat behind a stone, which protects them, and provided they have a piece of rock they are invulnerable —so well do they know how to lie close behind it, and to load and discharge their pieces. To deceive their enemies at a distance, they usually place in sight a thin red cap, some way from the place where they are concealed. They are not accustomed to make intrenchments; when they wish to fight together and to fortify themselves, they form themselves into a *drum*, for

thus they call a space inclosed with a little parapet of stones placed around it; from behind this parapet they keep up a fire upon the enemy, for the most part very destructive, as they generally aim well at their mark. General Caratazzo, on the 17th of April, posted in one of these *drums*, made many hundreds of the Egyptians who attempted to force his position, bite the dust.

It is said, that the Suliots never make more than three discharges of their musquets, and these at very close quarters, and that they then throw down their pieces and capotes, and with their drawn sabres fall upon the enemy. For they use the sabre instead of the *ataghan*, which is the weapon adopted by the soldiers of the Morea. If, in this attack, they are unsuccessful, they lose their guns and their capotes. The Roumeliots, and still more the Suliots, think it a great misfortune to lose their captain, no matter in what way,—so that in the battle

they will not sometimes permit him to expose himself much, and they guard him when at a distance from danger. They follow and abandon their leaders at their pleasure. There is no penalty, no dishonour for this desertion; because it is not really deserting, as they quit one standard only to enrol themselves under another. Whosoever should compare these bands of soldiers to the companies of the ancient Italian *Condottieri* or to the Spanish *Guerillas*, would not obtain a very exact idea of them. The resemblance is more conformable between them and the old Scottish clans; the robust limbs of these warriors, and their costume, resembling that of the Scotch, render this comparison much more perfect. In Roumelia, the command commonly resides in particular families, who have merited it by their bravery; and is generally transmitted from father to son. The Suliots have sworn eternal war against the Turks, and have adhered more faithfully

to their oath than the knights of Malta. More than a hundred and fifty of these brave men fell in the battle of the 19th of April. This was precious blood that was spilt, for, since the Suliots have lost their country, there remain only about 1000 of them scattered throughout Greece and the Ionian Islands. Their corps, however, are always numerous; as many Roumeliots, attracted by their warlike fame, love to make war in conjunction with them, and in their school become excellent soldiers. Like the ancient Spartans, they are always followed to war by a great number of Greeks, who fight under their orders.

Whilst we were separated from them, I called the attention of General Roche to the disobedience of these troops to the head of the Government, observing, that it was a scandal, fatal in time of war, and that the defection of 2000 of these good soldiers from the Greek camp could not fail to hasten the fall of Nava-

rino. I therefore advised the general to have a private conference with Constantine Botzari, who seemed the most influential and sincere of their chiefs; and to offer his mediation with the president, to promote a reconciliation honourable to both parties, and of the greatest importance to their common country. The general, already persuaded of the necessity of inducing these chiefs to abandon their resolution, invited Constantine Botzari to a private conference the following day at our residence. Botzari came alone; and the general's servant acted as interpreter in the following conversation:

Gen. "As you know, being a soldier, the necessity of subordination, will you have the kindness to tell me if you have quitted the camp with the consent of the president?"

Botz. "The president, in truth, wished us to remain in the camp, but we were obliged to quit it when we understood that the enemy

threatened to attack Missolonghi, and to invade Western Greece."

Gen. "You have, however, disobeyed the head of the Government:—this is a fatal example. Will you remain at Tripolizza? I, who love your cause, and am convinced that union alone can conduce to a happy result, am ready to offer myself as an impartial mediator. If you, Botzari, will suspend your departure, I am certain the others also will change their resolution."

Botz. "We have left the camp, it is true, to the displeasure of the president; but we are still friends with him. We cannot suspend our departure,—our country is threatened,—our soldiers see their houses, their families in danger,—they themselves would abandon us if we should remain long in the Morea: and if the soldiers should go off, what service could I alone be to the president? I should be useless both to the Morea and to Western Greece."

Gen. "Since you are immovable in your design, give me at least your word that you will always be friends with the president, and obedient to the Government."

Botz. "I assure you that I entertain no rancour towards the president; and I promise you hat I will always be his friend."

Notwithstanding the specious reasons that Botzari gave for their resolution, the fact proved too well in the sequel, that the departure of these troops was one of the chief causes of the surrender of Navarino.

Funeral honours were rendered at Tripolizza to the memory of General Xidi. The bier, upon which the supposed body lay, was scattered over with flowers. I do not know whether the Greeks owe this practice of adorning the coffin with flowers to the Turks, or to the ancient Athenians, who also followed a similar custom. This excepted, all the ceremonies were like those observed at the funerals

of Catholics. It does not occur to me to make any other observation than that the priests, poor and filthy in the extreme, sang psalms with a nasal voice, still more displeasing than that of the Capuchins in Italy. The people in their songs imitate this, and catch as much enthusiasm of pleasure from these sounds as their progenitors did from those of Linus and Orpheus.

At Tripolizza is a grammar-school, in which is taught the ancient Greek, with the reading of Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon.

On the 8th of May a school of mutual instruction was opened in a mosque fitted up for that purpose, and capable of containing 400 pupils. Adjoining is a small garden, and before the vestibule a copious fountain. The master is George Constantine, of Cyprus, who studied the method at the great school, Borough Road, London. Many gentlemen of Tripolizza superintend the school, and Prince Ipsilanti takes a special concern in it. Having

had an opportunity of knowing an inspector (Ephorus) of public instruction, (Signor Gregorio Constantas,) I begged him to favour me with a succinct account of the condition of public instruction in Greece. This venerable and learned ecclesiastic was so kind as to send me the letter placed in the Appendix, (A.) for those who take particular interest in matters of this kind. There died not long since, in Tripolizza, one Cava di Dimitzana, surnamed the Sabaneco, who, deformed by nature with two humps, was, however, gifted with the talent of improvisation. Without knowing how to read or write, he sang in verse the history of the Greek revolution. I could only collect about two thirds of his extempore effusions. They have here and there some happy strokes, amidst much rhapsody, but, like most of the poetry of the Italian Improvisatori, they are not worthy of a calm reading. This is, however, a proof that the modern Greeks, have the

same aptitude for improvisation, as the Greeks of antiquity.

After the departure of the Roumeliot troops, the president removed from Scala to Calamata; whence he wrote to General Roche, that he should be grieved to occasion him a very unpleasant journey, and begged him to remain at Tripolizza. The general thought fit to conform to the wish of the president. With the greatest regret I separated myself from a person whom I esteemed more and more every hour; and at noon the following day, April 30th, took the road to Calamata.

The first day I proceeded only five leagues, and stopped in the evening at a house one mile from Leondari, in a most delightful valley, which does not in the least fall short of any of those described by the divine Ariosto. Limpid and perennial streams, cool air, the singing of birds, olive-groves, always verdant, are the delights which the weary traveller finds there, after the

heat of the day, and the fatigue of a miserably bad mule or horse. The nightingales peopled the groves, and the owl united its shrill infantine cries with their melodious notes.

No sooner were we arrived, than the two steady Palicari who escorted us, even more active and indefatigable than Spanish soldiers, set about getting our supper ready. A lamb is the dainty victim for these sacrifices. In a moment it was killed, skinned, drawn, and rubbed inside with pepper and salt. It was afterwards put on a stake for want of a spit, and set down to roast before a strong fire—

> Achilles at the genial feast presides,
> The parts transfixes, and with skill divides,
> Meanwhile Patroclus sweats the fire to raise;
> The tent is brighten'd with the rising blaze, &c.
>
> POPE'S *Homer's Iliad.*—Book ix.

During the supper, I observed that one of the Palicari was watching, with the same attention with which the ancients examined the viscera

of lambs offered in sacrifice, a bone of the lamb (the shoulder-blade). I asked what was the subject of his attention. One of them, who spoke Italian, told me, that he was reading in it the future. He then added, between jest and earnest, that by the signs of that bone the future might be presaged; and that one of them, the night before the battle of the 19th of April, predicted the fatal issue of that day. This bone is therefore now called, in Greece, the "Gazette of the Palicari." I smiled at first at this superstitious credulity; but afterwards it excited the sorrowful reflection, that superstition is an incurable disorder amongst all nations, whether civilized or uncivilized. I believe, however, that the modern Greeks are not so superstitious as were the contemporaries of Socrates, who had their oracles, temples, divinations, and sibyls, every where. The modern Greeks, however tenacious of their religion, are not so much inclined to give their possessions

and their money to their priests, as the ancients; who, besides the gifts with which they enriched their temples, used to deposit their money in charge of their priests. The Greeks of the present day prefer carrying their money in their girdles, and burying it, rather than confide it to the priesthood. The people in Greece are poor, but so also are the clergy; and their churches are still more so. It is not as in Japan, where the people are poor, but the monks and cathedrals abound in gold and silver. In Tripolizza there are not even bells to call the people to church. After four years of liberty in that city, a piece of iron attached to the gates is still used for the purpose (Turkish despotism did not permit bells); upon this they strike with a stone, and at the sound the Christians congregate like bees in the neighbouring church.

Another delightful spot, which has left an agreeable remembrance, is the source of the Pamisus, where we stopped to take a frugal

repast of olives, fresh garlic, and goat's cheese. That I might gain a better acquaintance with the habits of a country, I have never hesitated to follow them. This spot was esteemed even by the ancients for the salubrity of the air, which they believed to be particularly beneficial in the disorders of children. A brook, formed by a spring, which wound round a grassy meadow, shaded by several majestic plane-trees, awakened the recollection of the fine ode of Petrarch,

" Chiare, fresche, e dolci acque,
Ove le belle membra
Pose colei che sola a me par donna," &c.

In Greece the traveller usually spreads his table with his companion, near some charming scene.

The brooks are numerous, and the fountains, which are respected even by the wildest soldiery, occasion a most delicious coolness in a climate where the sun is for several months too prodigal of his rays. How many streamlets, valleys, and

trees could I point out, where the genius of desolation has been reigning during four centuries. Here are no palaces, no parks, no villas. Turkish tyranny has left nothing uninjured, save the sun and the soil.

The province of Calamata, which is part of the ancient Messenia, is well cultivated, fertile in figs, wine, silk, and every species of fruit; perhaps as much so as anciently; but it has always had inconvenient neighbours. For four centuries the Spartans laid waste the country, and left its inhabitants only the choice between war and exile—between death and slavery; and now the Mainotes (the successors, if not the descendants of the Spartans,) often disturb the province by their incursions; from time to time descending from their mountains, and plundering these charming plains, interspersed with hills and rivulets.

I entered Calamata towards evening, and proceeded to dismount at the house of the president

There was a crowd of people there, resembling the press at a theatre opened gratis. I went onwards with the stream, in which I overtook Prince Mavrocordato, who saluted me in the politest way. His countenance appeared to me much handsomer and more animated than the pictures of him in London. He dresses *à la Française*. When I saw him the first time at Calamata, his dress was in holes, or rather torn, which proceeded, in my opinion, more from affectation than necessity. He speaks French with facility and elegance—his conversation is lively, agreeable, and full of wit. He is very ready in his answers. One day General Roche remarked, "It is really a singular thing, that more is said at Paris about the affairs of Greece than in Greece itself." Mavrocordato replied, "That is, because it is easier to talk than to act." The general then replied, "I believe it rather proceeds from our always speaking, like lovers, of those we love." Mavrocordato rejoined, "Pity,

that hitherto your love has been only Platonic." He has all the talents requisite in a secretary of state; and understands and expedites business with readiness. His enemies, unable to deny his ability on this point, say, that he handles the pen better than the sword. He does not possess such influence over his countrymen as his talents and patriotism authorise; the reason is, that being born at Fanari, without connexions in Greece, without wealth, he is obliged to struggle singly against factions and cabals. For the same cause, he is frequently obliged to make use of the arms of his enemies, and will find it difficult to reach the supreme authority in Greece. He is versed in the labyrinth of European politics, and his primary object is to preserve Greece independent; but, if ever she should be compelled to choose a protector, I am of opinion that Mavrocordato would give the preference to the most powerful and disinterested state—to Great Britain.

Mavrocordato introduced me to the president, well known by name, Conduriotti. Neatly habited in the costume of his Island, he was sitting upon a sofa *à la Turque*, counting the beads of a *combolojo*. As he speaks no foreign language, our conversations, whenever we met, were short and unimportant. The Conduriotti family is certainly the richest in Hydra;—its property is said to amount to a million.

At the commencement of the revolution, this family contributed very important sums of money for the support of the navy; and this sacrifice, with the reputation of being an excellent citizen, raised Conduriotti to the first rank in the Government. From that time, however, his fame has been on the decline. He was formerly esteemed a man of firmness, but experience has proved him obstinate rather than firm. His integrity is without blemish, but he is accused of partiality towards his own friends and the Hydriots, his countrymen. The fatal termina-

tion of the expedition that he undertook against the Egyptians has greatly diminished his credit. However, though his administration may be censured, he will, at least, have given a useful example in all revolutions, that the wealthy, instead of declining public employment, and standing on the shore watching the tempest, should plunge at once, if necessary, into the danger with their country.

The Greek camp, instead of receiving reinforcements, was daily growing weaker, from the departure of many soldiers, who in Greece quit their standards according to their caprice. In vain had the president endeavoured to arm the hardy and warlike population of Arcadia. At first, some thousands flocked to the support of Navarino, but by degrees they soon left the camp. The other inhabitants of the Peloponnesus, irritated at the extortions and vexations of the Roumeliots in the Morea, refused to take up arms, unless Colocotroni was reappointed to

his command, under which they had before triumphed twice over the Turks. In the mean time, Navarino, without the hope of being succoured by land, had no other free communication than by sea; in consequence of which the president had returned to Calamata, to open a treaty with the Mainotes, and march them to the support of the besieged place.

It was the intention of the president to proceed by sea to Old Navarino, to animate the courage of the garrison of Neo-Castro, and direct from thence the operations of the campaign. With this intention, we embarked at Armiros, in the territory of Sparta, ready to set sail: but, whilst we were waiting a change of the wind, the news arrived that the Egyptian fleet was before Modon.

I passed three days on the coast of the ancient Lacedæmonian territory; and though not very enthusiastic on the subject of antiquities, yet I confess that I trod the shore with a mixture of

high admiration and respect. At this time General Murzina, one of the three ministers at war, and one of the most powerful chiefs of the Mainotes, disembarked at Armiros with about one hundred-and-sixty soldiers, in order to confer with the president. The Mainotes, as is well known, have never submitted to the Turks; secured by their inaccessible mountains, and not less by their extreme poverty, they have always preserved their independence—

> " Il concavo di balze incoronato,
> Lacedemone suol." *Iliad,* Book ii.

Their countenance is less handsome, but more stern and thoughtful than that of the other Greeks, from whom they are distinguished by a greater luxuriancy of hair flowing over their shoulders, and by wide breeches, folded in plaits round their thighs.

General Murzina stood remarkable among his soldiers, not so much for his glittering arms as

for his robust make and fulness of form; and for a pair of immense mustachios, from beneath the huge shadow of which no smile could show itself. He sate himself by the side of the president, on the sea-shore, where the conference was held. There lay before them a proclamation, to be published in the province of Maina, with a view to excite the people to take up arms. It was read in the presence of the accompanying soldiers, but without producing (as appeared to me) any emotion; nor did it make any greater impression when it was published in their mountains. The Mainotes do not give their blood for words; to them may be applied the motto, "*Point d'argent, point de Mainotes.*" Thus vanished this hope of succour for Navarino.

Having completed the object of my journey, I took leave of the president, and returned to Napoli di Romania. No accident occurred on the road, although I took no escort with me—

perceiving that the traveller is, perhaps, in as much security in the Peloponnesus, as in Italy, Spain, or Portugal.

All the inhabitants of the Peloponnesus are armed with a musquet and pistols, and an *ataghan;* which, under the Turkish government, was prohibited. They now ostentatiously display the arms they have wrested from their oppressors. A levy *en masse* in the Morea might possibly produce fifty thousand fighting men. The people are handsome and sturdy. During the visits I made at Tripolizza and Calamata, I was at length able to gain a glimpse of the fair sex. They are some of them certainly worthy of the praises that the poets have bestowed, and continue to bestow upon them.

I have seen four επαρχιαι (or prefectures): but it must not be imagined that they in any one respect resemble any thing of the kind in Europe. Hitherto there exists no municipal administration, and no courts of justice are yet organized. The

Eparch, therefore, discharges in his own person many duties which ought to be distinct from his office. The eparchia consists of a secretary, who generally sleeps, eats, and gives audience in the same chamber. There is no post for letters throughout the Morea: the Government corresponds by means of expresses, and individuals are obliged to send their letters by a messenger. The gazettes of Hydra, Athens, and Missolonghi are not yet in circulation amongst the people, but they are read with eagerness by the educated classes: that of Missolonghi is supported by the sale it has in the Ionian Islands. The Hydriot gazette has but two hundred subscribers, and the Athenian still fewer.

The national domains have been let for twice as much this year as the last; which augmentation is owing to the cessation of the monopoly exercised by the primates in letting them, and to the increase of cultivation, which keeps pace with the increasing confidence of the people.

These are a few of the observations I have made while travelling over the tract of the Morea extending from Napoli di Romania to Calamata. What, it will be asked, have the Greeks been doing the last four years? Little,—very little. But what could be effected by a people who, after having repelled two invasions of the Turks, had, a few months ago, to extinguish a civil war? And what can a people effect who are just emerging from a brutalizing slavery of four centuries? Tyranny preys on the vitals of a nation; the effects of its deadly poison continue even after the cause has ceased.

It is easy to conceive that at Napoli di Romania the chief subject of discourse was Navarino. As long as the communication with Neo-Castro remained open, we entertained a well-founded hope that the place would hold out a long time; but what was our surprise, on learning that the Island of Sphacteria, which lies between the Old and the New Navarino, was taken by the Egyp-

tians! In fact the Egyptian fleet, after a fruitless attack on the 7th of May, made an attempt at noon, on the 8th, upon the Island at different points, and carried the place without much loss. The Greeks, who had neglected to fortify it sufficiently, did not make so brave a defence as the importance of the post required. Mavrocordato, who was on the Island, escaped with difficulty: the brave Captain Psamado of Hydra fell, and five hundred Greeks were either killed or made prisoners. In the Appendix will be found an account of this event, transmitted by an eye-witness, and which I was unwilling to suppress, although some of the praises it contains appear to me dictated by the warmth of friendship and gratitude. (B.)

This event occasioned me the severest affliction. Count Santa Rosa, my intimate friend, fell in the battle. A few months before, he had come to Greece with Major Collegno to offer his services to the Government, and being but coolly

received, he clothed himself in the Albanian costume, and, with the enthusiasm of a Crusader, entered amongst the Greek troops as a simple volunteer, and both in the camp and the battle endeavoured to infuse his own enthusiasm into the soldiers. The day of the attack on the Island, he disdained to escape, as he might have done, with the other fugitives, on board a Greek brig, and preferred awaiting the enemy. The few Greeks who imitated his example met, like him, a glorious, but a useless death. The Piedmontese army will cherish with affection the memory of its two most distinguished officers, the Count Santa Rosa, and Lieutenant-colonel Tarella, who in this country, the ancient sister of Italy, have by their death raised a trophy of Italian valour. Tarella fell in 1822, at the battle of Peta; and thus both these brave men died in a foreign land, without any other tomb than the hearts of their friends.

This new disaster induced the legislative body

to retract their negative to the formation of a corps of regular troops. The executive, at the beginning of the campaign, convinced of the impossibility of making head against the Egyptians, had proposed to levy a corps of foreign regular troops, in order to gain more time. The legislative body, either from its distrust of foreigners, or from too much deference to the Greek chiefs, (who cannot bear the idea of a regular force) rejected the proposal. Now, however, afflicted and overwhelmed by these reiterated failures, they unanimously determined to take into their pay four thousand foreigners, and to organize six thousand national regular soldiers.

Soon after the capture of the Island, the garrison of Old Navarino, about one thousand in number, unable to remain for want of water in a city not naturally strong, attempted, under cover of the night, to force a passage through the enemy's camp; but they were surprised on the road, and obliged to surrender themselves prisoners,

with the exception of one hundred and forty Roumeliots, who opened themselves a road, sword in hand. Ibrahim Pacha detained as prisoners only Captain Hadji Christo and the Bishop of Modon, who were the two principal commanders. He set at liberty the other soldiers, after having despoiled them of their arms and money.

Whilst the prisoners were filing off before Soliman Bey, the French Major Séve, the Lieutenant of Ibrahim, turned to those around, saying, "Observe these unhappy sons of liberty: what have they done during the last four years? They have not built a single ship of war, they have not organized a regiment, they have only thought of making war amongst themselves, and destroying one another." This was an insolent speech; but the Greeks might take a lesson from it.

The Greeks, easily dejected, had need of some prosperous event to rouse their courage: and fortune, for an instant, smiled upon them. On the

15th of May the news was spread, that Admiral Miaulis had burnt the Egyptian fleet in the harbour of Modon. A traveller asserted that he had perceived at Calamata a great shock towards night. Another reported, that he had seen from the summit of the mountains of Arcadia a conflagration in the harbour of Modon, which lasted several hours. In the midst of joy, and doubt, and hope, a letter at length came from the Eparch of Calamata, stating that the squadron of Miaulis had burnt upwards of twenty vessels of the enemy, and that the city of Modon itself had sustained some damage by the explosion—

"Much has been done—but more remains to do;
Their galleys blaze—why not their city too?"*

Report had exaggerated this event. The majority of the Egyptian fleet was in the harbour of Navarino; the ships burnt at Modon formed only a small part of it: nevertheless the people, who always credit what they wish, yielded to an

* Corsair.

excess of joy, believing that the whole fleet had been destroyed, together with the magazines of the army. The Government was unwilling to dissipate this pleasing illusion. Solemn thanks were returned to the God of battles; and the eloquent Signor Tricoupi delivered a discourse suited to the occasion. The battalion which had been training at Napoli di Romania for several months, marched out of the Argos gate to display itself. The precipices of the Palamidi castles were covered with different-coloured groups of Greeks; while the military band, striking up in the midst of this animated scene the fine hunting-song of the Freischutz, rendered this afternoon more delightful than a morning in Hyde Park.

At this period of alternate joy and grief, there arose a debate of a delicate and interesting nature. Colocotroni, with several of the chiefs of the Morea, as already related, had been several months state-prisoners in a convent at Hydra;

and ever since his imprisonment the fortune of Greece had been declining. Some of the provinces of the Morea had demanded his release; he himself had twice besought the Government to allow him to engage the enemy, and offered his two sons as hostages. The inhabitants of the Morea persisted in continuing idle spectators of the war, unless Colocotroni assumed the command of the army. The Government perceived the fall of Navarino impending, without means to succour it, without an army, abandoned by the people—what other step remained than that of committing every thing to him who had once before saved the Peninsula? Two members of the Government were in favour of his release, and two against it. The decision was therefore suspended till the arrival of the president, whose opinion was to be adopted. It was not long before he arrived at Napoli di Romania, as every expedient to collect an army had failed. His arrival was the signal for a general

cabal? Coletti, who had for several months back contended against Colocotroni, opposed his release; and the president, indignant against Coletti, as he considered him the suborner of the Roumeliot troops who had abandoned the camp at Cremidi, wished him to be expelled from the Government. Colocotroni's party, who wished to exalt their chief, imputed all the misfortunes of the campaign to the president's want of skill, and earnestly desired the expulsion of Mavrocordato, his most faithful counsellor.

The lovers of concord judged the expulsion of either of these two personages equally unjust and imprudent, at a crisis when Greece had the greatest need of the union of all parties for its salvation. The president and Mavrocordato showed themselves disposed to yield on the point of the dismissal; but the former, soon perceiving that he should require support in his government against his principal enemy Colocotroni, gave up all thoughts of dismissing Coletti, and

left it to the wisdom of the legislative body to decide on Colocotroni's fate.

This specimen of opposing interests and passions will be sufficient to prove that the modern Greeks have preserved the same restlessness, the same rivalry and political passions, as their ancestors in Greece, in Asia Minor, in Magna Grecia, in Sicily, and wheresoever they established themselves.

During this debate the season was approaching when the Turks of Negropont are in the habit of invading Attica. Desiring to see Athens before the commencement of their incursions, I lost no time, but set out for Hydra the very morning on which the discussion was to be opened in the legislative council on the release of Colocotroni.

In the Archipelago the usual mode of sailing from island to island is in vessels with triangular sails, called caïques. The Greeks are very skilful in the management of these vessels; and the

inhabitants of Cranidi are reputed the most expert amongst them at this sort of navigation. The sea was rough, but the wind favourable; and the caïque glided on swiftly, while the sailors sang the songs of their revolution. They dined upon a few olives and garlic, as it was one of the numerous days of abstinence which the Greeks are bound annually to observe. Including the four Lents, which their religion prescribes, they have two hundred and thirty-six fast-days in the year. Of the superior classes I cannot speak, but by the lower orders I can aver that these fasts are rigidly kept. I was myself frequently involved in their penitence, and several days deprived of the light and delicious milk of the country. In four hours we arrived at Spezzia. I went on shore, most eager to obtain news of the burning of Modon. The inhabitants, who were still exulting at this event, conducted me to the secretary of the senate of Spezzia. He is a priest of the Ionian Islands,

of a majestic aspect, and with a long and hoary beard. He confirmed the news of the burning, and pointed out some of the fire-ships that had been lost in the attack. This priest seeming a well-informed person, I asked him how it happened that the Spezziots, composing a population of only ten thousand inhabitants, in an island accessible at different points, did not fear a fate similar to that of the Ipsariots. He made me observe that the enemy, with a small force, would never dare to attempt, by surprise, a similar disembarkation: and if they should bring a large force, they might be seen afar off, and preparations be made to receive them with fire-ships. Besides this, in the event of danger, they could bring to their defence three or four thousand men from the neighbouring continent. This answer did not altogether relieve my fears; but, not to discourage my hosts, I appeared satisfied, and merely suggested that the best defence of the Greeks consisted in unanimity amongst them-

selves. With the tranquil and solemn air of an ancient Pontifex the priest then replied: "It is not wonderful if amongst the Greeks there exist some disagreements. Divisions are inevitable in a nascent state. The people, during a revolution, are in a sort of paroxysm, and do not return to reason till the delirium is past. The Roman empire itself began with fratricide, although in Greece there has not hitherto been committed a crime of so deep a dye. In the moral, as in the physical world, all things at the beginning are imperfect, shapeless, and of a displeasing aspect." Whilst the venerable secretary was making this apology for his country, I noticed amongst the by-standers four noble and handsome Spezziots, lightly dressed, whom I conjectured to be the brothers of the celebrated Bobolina, from the resemblance they bore to another of the brothers, with whom I had travelled in the Morea. In this belief, I placed my hand upon my heart, and they, having re-

turned the salutation, invited me to visit their sister, which I did with the greatest willingness. This modern Amazon, the object both of satire and of praise amongst the Greeks, her complexion bronzed, her eyes sparkling, and full of fire in all her movements, came to meet me with pleasure and openness of manner, and received me with the greatest cordiality. To tell her something agreeable, I announced the probable release of General Colocotroni. "If it is so," replied she, "I will return to the camp with him, and make war against the Turks." Unhappy woman! her vow was not accomplished. She was killed a fortnight afterwards, in her own house, by a shot discharged by the relations of a girl whom her son had carried off.

Not to lose the benefit of the wind, we re-embarked, and at one o'clock in the morning arrived at the harbour of Hydra. This, in a summer's evening, by moonlight, is one of the most magnificent scenes imaginable. The city, composed

of houses excessively white, hanging in the form of an amphitheatre upon a steep mountain, appears in the night like a mass of snow; and the lights, which at a distance sparkle from the open windows, show like stars of gold on a silver ground. I believe that this comparison has already been made by others; and I repeat it, because it is just. When we entered the port, it resounded with the strokes of hammers, and the cries of the sailors raising the anchor. This noise proceeded from three fire-ships, which were preparing with all haste for the squadron of Miaulis. Early the following morning, I went on board to visit these infernal machines: they are most simple, consisting of a vessel, the inside of which is rendered like a mine, by means of barrels of powder, pitch, and other substances. A train of powder placed around serves to communicate with the barrels and the exterior through two great holes at the poop When the fire-ship, either under cover of night, or in the day-time

protected by a brig of war, has grappled an enemy's ship, the sailors get into a skiff, and the last applies the fire to two holes in the poop. The skiff immediately escapes to avoid the explosion. Every sailor has an extraordinary reward of one hundred dollars. Miaulis gave two hundred to each of those who exposed their lives in the harbour of Modon. Every fire-ship costs the Government between three and four thousand dollars, according to its size. The Hydriot sailors were preparing the vessels (which may prove their grave) with the same alacrity as if adorning a ball-room. The Hydriots are robust and somewhat taciturn, preserving the seriousness of the Albanian nation, from which they are descended. They despise the mirth and loquacity of the Moreots: few of them can read or write, but many speak two or three languages—Italian, French, and Turkish.

Hydra and Spezzia have not Eparchias. They are governed by a synod, or senate, composed of

some of the heads of the Island: I went to pay my visit to the senate according to the custom of travellers, and begged permission of Signor Lazzaro Conduriotti, the president, to see General Colocotroni.

"Ispida e folta la gran barba scende." TASSO.

When I beheld Colocotroni sitting amidst ten of his companions, prisoners of state, and treated with respect by his guards, I called to mind the picture that Tasso draws of Satan in the council of the devils. His neglected grey hairs fell upon his broad shoulders and mingled with his rough beard, which, since his imprisonment, he had allowed to grow, as a mark of grief and revenge. His form is rugged and vigorous, his eyes full of fire, and his martial and savage figure resembled one of the sharp grey rocks which are scattered throughout the Archipelago. I presented him the compliments of Bobolina, and announced to him that in a few days he would be free. He thanked me by the interpreter, and asked what

was the news. I told him that the Egyptians were on the point of gaining possession of Navarino; and that they were formidable, not only for their personal valour, but for their tactical skill, and the cavalry in their army. He observed, that to conquer the Egyptians, it was sufficient merely to levy men, and then (suiting the action to the word) to fire. "I know," added he, "the positions in which their tactics and cavalry would be useless. Do you know what has given the victory to the Egyptians?—Unity of command; whilst the Greeks are ruined by the mania that every one has for command without experience." Whilst he raised his arm in speaking, I noticed upon it a sabre wound, and asked him where he had acquired that honourable decoration. "It is not the only one that I bear on my person," he replied; and thus saying, he showed me another mark of a shot on his left arm, another on the right side of his breast, and a fourth, on his thigh.

Whilst speaking, he hastily ran over the beads of a rosary, and, instead of the Turkish gravity which the Greeks have contracted, he rolled his eyes rapidly and fiercely, arose and sat down, agitated as if still a klepht in fear of the ambushes and attacks of the enemy. General Colocotroni is certainly not a man of the common stamp. A few days afterwards, he was set at liberty, and received by the Government in Napoli di Romania with all due dignity and honour. On the act of reconciliation with the Government, he replied without premeditation to the speech which one of the legislators addressed to him. In his unpolished reply is a remarkable passage, in which he said, "In coming hither from Hydra I have cast all rancour into the sea; do you do so likewise; bury in that gulph all your hatreds and dissensions; *that* shall be the treasure which you will gain." He was speaking in the square of Napoli, where the inhabitants had been for several days excavating the earth, in

the hope (common in Greece) of finding a hidden treasure.

Hydra was not inhabited by the ancients. It is an island consisting of barren mountains, excepting a few spots of ground, which at a great expense and labour are cultivated as gardens by the owners of some of the houses. The buildings are handsome, constructed of stone, with solid walls; some of them are noble and towering above the rest, particularly those of the President Conduriotti, Miaulis, and the brothers Tombazi. The nobles of Hydra are like the ancient Genoese, who were frugal in their living, but splendid in their habitations, to impose upon the people, and acquire dominion over them. This Island owes its prosperity to the love of liberty. Before the revolution, the Greeks, who wished to withdraw from the oppression of the Turks, abandoned the more fertile islands, which excited the avidity of their tyrants, and sought upon this arid and rocky soil the most grateful

hospitality—that of liberty. Thus rose Venice; thus emerged from its marshes the republic of Holland; and thus in the wilds of America has liberty been nursed. For the last twenty years the population of this city has been on the increase, and it is said that it now exceeds 30,000 inhabitants. Hydra could send to sea 6000 sailors; but for want of vessels and money, it employs no more than 2000. This year the Grecian fleet comprises 94 brigs, divided into three squadrons. Hydra furnishes 50, Spezzia 30, and Ipsara 12. At the beginning of the campaign the fleet possessed [illegible] fire-ships, which are always replaced as they are destroyed. This Island has hitherto produced the most skilful commanders, Miaulis, Sactouri, Psamado, Tombazi, &c. The Hydriots are expecting with impatience the arrival of the frigates, purchased by the Government in America. They are by no means boasters, and confess that they are not always in a condition to face the enemy with their

small ships, and are therefore obliged to carry on a war of stratagem and surprise.

I experienced much hospitality from the nobles of the Island. The sons of some of the chiefs had the courtesy to conduct me themselves to view the batteries of the harbour, and the other fortifications of the Island. The former are well constructed, and kept up with great care. Before the revolution Hydra possessed but three cannon. The port alone is now defended by more than thirty of brass. The young men took me by sea to Vlicos, about a mile from the city, where the senate keeps an advanced post of Stratioti (*common soldiers*): and as Vlicos is a place of disembarkation, the senate has had erected a stone parapet of great strength, with barbicans, behind which the musqueteers may drive the enemy from the shore. Every year, whilst the Turkish fleet is at sea, the senate maintains a garrison of 3000 men: the island therefore has three modes of defence; first, its

squadron, secondly, its situation on a narrow canal, which facilitates the manœuvring of the fire-ships; thirdly, a garrison generally of Roumeliot soldiers. Vlicos is an agreeable promenade at sunset. A torrent opens its passage to the sea; here and there between the rocks are seen Indian figs, fig-trées, and olives; and higher up are scattered the country-houses belonging to the sea-captains, who raise in small gardens, flowers, and orange and other fruit trees. At Vlicos are two miniature churches, in which two small lamps are always burning; here the mothers and sisters of the sailors are accustomed to offer up their prayers and vows when the Hydriot fleet sets sail to attack the Turks; whilst the squadron, in passing before these chapels, wafts its last farewell to the suppliants.

The description given by Homer of the character of the people of Phæacia, will apply to the common people of Hydra;—

"A race of rugged mariners are these,
Unpolish'd men, and boisterous as their seas,
The native islanders alone their care,
And hateful he who breathes a foreign air,—
These did the ruler of the deep ordain
To build proud navies, and command the main;
On canvass wings to cut the watery way—
No bird so light, no thought so swift as they.
Odyssey, Book VII.

The people of Hydra are accused of being profligate and ferocious. I cannot defend them, having myself witnessed a standing monument of their private revenge. Two or three years since, an inhabitant of Hydra treacherously slew another. What was his punishment? The friends of the dead man utterly destroyed two windmills belonging to the assassin, and dismantled his house. These ruins, the result of the punishment of one crime by another, are still visible. The islanders are, however, watchful and courageous; of which the following event affords a proof:—In the afternoon of the 25th of May, at the time when even in Greece the siesta

is permitted, the sound of cannon was heard afar off; every one inquired the reason; the vidette on the Island announced that an Austrian frigate had appeared before Spezzia to claim an Austrian prize, which had been taken into that port. The frigate accompanied the demand with some discharges of cannon. Hydra was all in alarm,—it was also feared that the vessel came to demand the release of two Imperial ships, captured a few days before. The gunners were at their post. The sailors got ready a vessel—all the youth burnt with desire to salute with cannon-shot this ally of the Turk. The Austrian frigate, however, was satisfied with committing some piracies, and did not proceed any farther.* Whatsoever indignation this attempt of the Austrian vessel had excited, an equal joy was produced by the arrival of the English frigate, the Cambrian. She cast anchor at three miles distance

* I reckon thirty Imperial ships sailing in the Archipelago in the service of the Turks!

from the island. All the youth were anxious to pay their respects to Captain Hamilton, the kind and generous friend of their Admiral, Miaulis. I passed a whole day on board the frigate with many of these young men, who shook hands with the English sailors with a fraternal confidence. I quitted Hydra with regret—that nest of dauntless mariners, over whom the fate of Ipsara and Scio impends, inspired me with a melancholy sympathy.

The love of independence is that which, like Plato's love, animates the universe; it animates every desert, every mountain, every grotto. At the summit of a high rock opposite the island of Hydra is a small chapel, over which a solitary olive-tree casts a partial shade. A monk, the guardian of the spot, was sitting at the foot of the tree: our pilot hailed him, and begged his prayers for the safety of our voyage. The good hermit answered, "I will pray for you and for our country." Between the island of Modi

and Porro, we met an Ipsariot privateer, which was slowly approaching, towing after it two Austrian vessels, captured by it at the entrance of the Dardanelles. No sooner had our sailors seen it, than they shouted aloud to it from the distance, to sail after the Austrian frigate which had appeared before Spezzia, and then added the intelligence of Miaulis's victory. The privateer returned thanks, and informed us, that the Turkish Fleet was on the point of sailing from the straits. In the meantime the sun set, the wind fell, and the sea was as tranquil and smooth as a mirror. It is a proverb with the sailors, "to eat with the light of the day." Each of us drew forth his provisions, and, with that hospitality which is common in the Archipelago, contributed his supplies to the common stock, and commenced without any distinction of rank. Night coming on, we slept under the open sky, stretched at the bottom of the vessel, and lulled by the gentle sound of the oars. At

sun-rise we were before Egina. The shaft of an old column, which is seen projecting from afar off; the beautiful plain reaching to the shore, covered with olive-trees, rich pastures, and corn-fields; irregular mountains rising towards the south of the island, and bounding this beautiful view, made me wish that some accident might suspend our voyage. It became perfectly calm, and my wish was gratified. We went on shore to await the rising of the wind. I hastened to visit the solitary column (a fragment, possibly, of some temple); and thence, by the ruins of the ancient port of Egina, which are still visible in the sea—to Egina, which has arisen within these few years. The inhabitants had lived in a city built by the Venetians upon a mountain in the interior of the Island; but the love of commerce induced them to prefer the sea-shore, and they accordingly chose the site of the ancient Egina.

The emigrations caused by the present revo-

lution has assembled here a mixture of wandering Greeks from various parts; from Scio, Natolia, Zaituni, Livadia, &c.; the various dresses of the women presenting to the traveller a continued masquerade. The population now amounts to about 10,000 souls; amongst whom there are about 1000 Ipsariots, who, after the catastrophe in their own country, have sought an asylum here. The costume of the Ipsariot women is striking from its various colours, resembling that of some of the Swiss peasantry. Now, however, a great part of them are dressed in mourning for their husbands and relatives, slain last year by the Turks. They wear on their heads a large turban, from which descends a corner of the handkerchief, which covers all their face except the eyes, and a band of hair which crosses their forehead. I cannot affirm whether this practice of covering the face is an imitation of the Turkish costume, or the continuance of that of ancient Athenian women.

The Ipsariot women are beautiful, courageous, and capable of the most heroic acts. Almost all of them can swim. The aunt of Captain Canaris, a strong woman of sixty years of age, saved her life at the taking of Ipsara by swimming three miles. The wealthiest families of Ipsara have taken refuge at Egina, and continue to follow maritime employments. Ipsara is an arid sterile rock. Egina, on the contrary, is fruitful, sunny, and under a delightful sky; nevertheless, the Ipsariots always sigh for their barren Ipsara. The Government has offered them the Piræus, as a compensation for the loss of their Island; but the Ipsariots desire to suppress the illustrious name of the Piræus, and to substitute that of New Ipsara. The mere name of country is an illusion dear to him who has lost the reality.

I inquired for the habitation of Captain Constantine Canaris, desirous of becoming acquainted with that intrepid leader of the fire-ships.

I found him by the side of his wife, playing with his son Miltiades, a child of three years of age. He received me with frankness and courtesy, and made his elder son Nicholas present me with a half-blown rose, a mark of affection in the Levant. Canaris is a young man about thirty-two, frank and gay, and at the same time extremely modest. I could never induce him to relate any of his deeds: he is loved by all his countrymen, but envied by the Hydriots through whom he has been left this year without the command of a fire-ship. His gun was hanging against the wall. His arms and his courage are all the riches of this intrepid man, after having burnt four of the enemy's ships of war. Last year, having avenged the burning of his country by that of an enemy's ship, he presented himself at Napoli di Romania, poor and in want of every thing. Whilst each inhabitant was eagerly making him some present, he said before the legislative body, "I would much

rather than all these gifts, receive another fireship to burn in the service of my country." Whilst we were speaking, his wife, with matronly dignity, suckled an infant three months old, named Lycurgus. She is an Ipsariot, of great beauty, grave and modest—a Minerva. Having paid this tribute of respect to the most courageous of the Greeks, I proceeded to the port, a favourable wind having sprung up: I found many of the principal people of the Island here, who showed me great politeness. The inhabitants of these Islands still observe a liberal hospitality, the ancient precept of Jupiter. They made me promise to return to Egina, to visit the temple of Jupiter Panhellenius; and I gave Runfo my promise to become his guest.

Anacharsis compares the Islands of the Archipelago to the scattered stars of Heaven. Byron calls them, "the gems of the sea." I shall make a comparison more prosaic. I have travelled to the lakes of Scotland; to those of

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Switzerland; and to those of Upper Italy, which are most beautiful; but I have never experienced so much pleasure as when sailing in the Archipelago. It is a more varied and extensive scene. These islands, rising and disappearing every moment, are like pleasing thoughts which succeed one another. Scarcely does the traveller lose sight of one, and perceive it dissolving into vapour, when another afar off, appearing like a cloud, becomes visible, assuming a reddish hue, interspersed here and there with obscure spots, which are masses of verdure always green, or with some white points, which by degrees grow larger to the view, becoming cities and villages. It is like an illusion which becomes a reality.

We arrived at Colouris late at night. The caïques in the harbour were full of families coming from Western Greece to escape the Turks; who, to the number of ten thousand, had entered Salona. The shore and the squares were full of people, proceeding from Athens from fear of

the Turks of Negropont. Colouris and Bellachi are two great villages in the Island of Salamis, which every year at the opening of the campaign give refuge to all the old men, women, and children of Eastern and Western Greece. This Island, which has several times saved the ancient Athenians, gave an asylum in 1821 to full one hundred thousand Greeks. At the beginning of the winter, when the Turks usually retire, the families return to their firesides, if the fury of the Turks has not destroyed them. It was rumoured that the Turks had made an incursion. To ascertain this point, I resolved to wait a day in the Island. These wandering families live crowded in houses, or in cottages covered with leaves: it is a most moving spectacle. If every people knew how much independence has cost their ancestors, they would spill the last drop of their blood in its defence! In the midst of this picture of confusion and misery, I had the good fortune to make ac-

quaintance with Emanuel Tombazi, who is one of the most experienced sailors of Hydra, and commanded for a long time the Greek squadron, in the war of Candia. He built the finest corvette in the Greek fleet, and was then constructing a fire-ship of his own invention. It is of a much lighter form than the others; and possesses the advantage of having the steersman under the bridge. He told me that he hoped to obtain from the Government the command of it for Canaris, and, in fact, he fulfilled his promise. On my return from Greece, I met this fire-ship near Cerigo, with the squadron of Miaulis; by this time it has probably effected some glorious explosion. Tombazi extended his kindness so far as to procure me the company, as far as Athens, of Petrachi, an amiable and well-informed young physician. Having learnt that the news of the disembarkation of the Turks in the fields of Marathon was unfounded, I pursued my voyage, and in the evening we set sail from the

harbour of Bellachi, to the Piræus. On crossing this gulph—

" Thy glorious gulph, unconquer'd Salamis!"*

it is impossible not to be affected with a thousand and a thousand thoughts. I saw on my left the ancient mysterious Eleusis; I beheld in front the hill from which it is said Xerxes witnessed the discomfiture of his fleet. In the mean time the darkness of night involved every object; and, inspired with these recollections, I repeated to my fellow-travellers those fine verses of Foscolo, " *Suoi sepolchri*," in which he supposes that the sailor, along the coast of Eubœa, beholds the forms of the combatants of Marathon:—

" ——il navigante,
Che veleggiò quel mar sotto l'Eubea,
Vedea per l' ampia oscurità scintille,
Balenar d'elmi, e di cozzanti brandi,
Fumar le pire, igneo vapor, corrusche,
D' armi ferree vedea larve guerriere
Cercar la pugna; e all' orror de' notturni
Silenzi si spandea lungo ne' campi

* Corsair, c. iii.

Di falangi un tumulto, e un suon di tube,
E un incalzar di cavalli accorenti,
Scalpitanti su gli elmi a' moribondi,
E pianto, ed inni, e delle parche il canto."

I awoke in the morning under the salubrious sky of Attica, and eagerly sought with my eyes the Piræus, the ancient, the famous Piræus, but with grief beheld only an insecure harbour, and a few ruins here and there near the sea: I turned round, however, and beheld the Parthenon towering above the Acropolis of Athens—a magnificent recompense for all the fatigues of the voyage. The road from the Piræus to Athens was full of women and children coming from that city. It was the time of barley-harvest, a grain which thrives best in Attica, and is used for mixing with the bread of the peasantry. These were busily engaged in getting in their produce, and securing it in the city before the Turks, like locusts, should plunder the country. After a two hours' walk, amidst olive-trees and vineyards, I entered Athens. The streets were full

of Palicari; but the houses were empty, the families and furniture being withdrawn. The population in the winter comprises about twelve or fourteen thousand inhabitants; in the summer, however, only three thousand men remain for its defence. The fortress of the Acropolis requires only a garrison of five hundred men. It is abundantly provided with water and provisions of every kind. General Goura, the commander in Eastern Greece, has placed it in a condition to sustain a two years' siege. The city is only defended by a wall, behind which are placed, as occasion requires, two or three thousand fusileers. This would be but a poor defence against regular European troops; but to arrest a Turkish army, a mere wall is sufficient; a ditch alone, in 1822, sufficed to preserve Messolunghi from twenty thousand Turks. The Venetians, when they possessed the Morea, had planted it with towers and small castles on heights, to supply the want of numerous armies. The Athenians have

adopted a better system of defence by removing every hope of booty. With this view General Goura gave early orders for the women and children to evacuate the city. If the Turks therefore should wish to gain possession of Athens by force, they would purchase with their blood only heaps of stones; for excepting a few houses, all the rest of the city is a ruinous wilderness. If the Greeks are disposed to make an obstinate resistance, they may fight from house to house, and at last retire into that part of the city which is at the foot of the Acropolis, and under its protection.

On the 30th of May, whilst I was present at a sitting of the chiefs, which was held in an old mosque, the news was brought by a Palicari from Napoli di Romania, that Navarino had capitulated. Notwithstanding the Mahometan imperturbability evinced by the chiefs of the Continent of Greece, this news discomposed their gravity, and made them lay down their pipes.

The surrender of Navarino is an event that may be attended with fatal effects. As a fortress, it is not of much importance, but it is of great value as a sea-port; the harbour is spacious and secure, and may serve as a winter station for the enemy's fleet, which may thence threaten every point of the Morea. The Lacedæmonians also, in the Peloponnesian war, committed the error of neglecting this point, and the Athenians having made themselves masters of it, fortified the harbour, and rendered it a most annoying position to their enemies. The following are the particulars of the siege of Navarino, which were communicated to me in person by Major Collegno, who contributed by his valour and his counsel to the defence of the place.

Navarino is a city of six or seven thousand inhabitants, who, at the commencement of the bombardment by the Egyptians, retired into Arcadia. The harbour is spacious, secured from the sea by the Island of Sphacteria, and

capable of receiving a numerous fleet. The passage from Old Navarino to the Island, of between twenty and thirty toises, with a bottom extremely shallow, admits only of fishing boats. There is, however, a part where it may be crossed by fording. The fortress received its water from Old Navarino, whilst the Turkish fleet was in sight, and before the capture of the Island. Navarino is surrounded only by a wall without a ditch: the height commanding the city is a little hexagon, defended by five towers at the external angles, but without ditches, outworks, or ramparts, within. From the sea a frigate in two or three hours might batter down the walls: the artillery of the place consisted of forty pieces of cannon; the greater part in the fort, eight on the battery at the entrance of the harbour, and a few in some of the towers along the city.

The first descent of the Egyptians took place at Modon on the 15th of February. The in-

terval between this and the second descent was passed in provisioning Coron, and making preparations for the siege of Navarino. The second descent followed in the commencement of March: the whole of the troops landed might amount to fifteen thousand men, regulars; three regiments of Arab infantry, of about four thousand men each; seven hundred cavalry, and two thousand Albanians. They appeared before Navarino on the 9th of March, whilst there were only one hundred-and-fifty men in the place capable of bearing arms. They were received with some cannonading, and retiring beyond the reach of their shot, erected a battery of five guns and one mortar, at the foot of Mount St. Nicholas, and one of two mortars by the side of the road to Modon. In a short time they cut the aqueduct that supplied the city with water; which renders it probable that if they had then attempted an escalade, it would have succeeded. The fire was opened upon

the city, which the women and children evacuated, and fifteen hundred men entered the fortress on the side of Old Navarino. It was nevertheless evident that the works could not sustain a regular siege, and that the Government ought to support it by a force from without. The Egyptians, however, did not allow them time to unite a large force, for they attacked them in detail as they came up, and generally with success. Towards the middle of April, the Government had succeeded in assembling about eight thousand men at Cremidi, when it was determined to advance upon the road between Modon and Navarino, on the night of the 19 20th April; but they were surprised and routed by the Egyptians on the morning of the 19th, and from that period the city had no hopes but in its resources. By this time the buildings were entirely destroyed by the shells; the garrison had no other shelter than some bad casemates, and the

breach opposite the battery of St. Nicholas would have been practicable to an enemy of greater boldness than the Arabs. Besides the garrison of Navarino, there were at least 500 Arcadians in Old Navarino, at the north of the island.

The end of April was occupied in making an intrenchment behind the breach, in case the enemy should attempt a storm. On the 1st of May the Egyptian fleet was descried; and on the evening of the same day, one division of it entered the harbour of Modon, and the rest the day following. On the 3d it was overtaken by the Greek fleet, and compelled to abandon the road. From the 3d to the 7th, various naval engagements followed, without any result; in which, however, twenty mercantile ships had the courage to face sixty sail of the enemy, amongst which were eighteen frigates, twenty corvettes and brigs. After the cutting off of the aqueduct, the fortress was reduced to four

cisterns, the largest of which was incautiously consumed at the commencement of the siege. Two Zantiote barks were afterwards hired to provide for the daily wants of the garrison. On the 7th, the fleet seeming to threaten the island of Sphacteria, 500 men were sent to its defence from the city and Old Navarino. They took up a position where it was supposed that the enemy, on their descent, would make an attack. They there planted twelve pieces of cannon, served by the sailors of the fleet. It is to be observed, that at the beginning of April, the squadron destined for Patras, commanded by Captain Psamado, entered the harbour, and remained till the assault on the Island. On the 8th, at noon, the Turks made their attack, and at one were in possession of the place. The eight vessels left the harbour, abandoning some of their captains and several sailors, and carrying along with them a great part of the ammunition intended for the defence of Nava-

rino. The commandant of the fortress, who happened to be on the Island, followed the fleet; and on the evening of the 8th, the place remained without commandant, without water and provisions, and containing, besides, 1000 men, with only twenty barrels of powder. On the morning of the 10th the enemy became masters of Old Navarino, the garison of which capitulated, surrendering their arms, and being permitted to retire. At noon two brigantines, in spite of the fire of the place, entered the harbour, and were followed the next day by eleven frigates and four more brigantines, which anchored within pistol shot of the walls of the city. They immediately sent a Greek prisoner on shore with a message, but he was not received, and the fleet having anchored, immediately commenced a brisk fire. On the morning of the 12th, the enemy renewed the offer of allowing the garrison to retire without their arms, and by land.

This was also rejected, and the fire was continued. It was also continued on the 13th and 14th, interrupted only by proposals, which were rejected like the rest. In the mean time, the Egyptians had raised four new batteries, and by the morning of the 15th, there were forty-six pieces of cannon and ten mortars directed against the city on the land side. Incapable of resisting a fire so disproportioned to the strength of the place, it only remained for the Greeks to endeavour to gain time, in the hope of succour either by sea or land. It was, however, at length agreed to come to terms, on condition that the firing should first cease. A whole week passed in negotiations, purposely prolonged by the Greeks; and the garrison finally marched out on the 23d, leaving water in the place for four days' supply only, and bread for ten. The conditions of the surrender were, to march out without arms, and to be embarked in neutral vessels, to be conducted

to Calamata, under the escort of two galliots; one Austrian, the Arethusa, Captain Bandeira; the other English, the Amaranth, Captain Bezar. The capitulation was broken only in the case of the two chief Commanders, who were detained prisoners by the Pacha, on the pretext that the Greeks had also detained two Pachas after the capitulation of Napoli. The Pacha promised to give up Iatracco, and the son of Petro Bey, Georgio Mauromicali, as soon as the two Pachas should be restored to him.

The garrison, after the capture of the Island, was reduced to about 900 men, from losses in killed, wounded, and desertion; and about 100 Roumeliots, who set out to march to Messolunghi; of these 900, 300 were Spartans (Mainotes), 300 Cranidiotes, and the rest Roumeliots, with the exception of fifty Cephalonians. The artillery of the place was served by Roumeliots and Cephalonians, and by a company of artillery,

which was reduced at the end of the siege to only thirty men—"Così la mezza luna presse il posto della croce!"

The fall of Navarino was a shock that roused the Government from the misjudging confidence, in which, till that time, it had slumbered. It was only then perceived that there was no army to oppose to the Egyptians; that, if they received reinforcements, as was very probable, they might extend themselves, and enter further into the interior of the Morea; that Colocotroni could not create an army by enchantment; and that in the event of his gaining a victory, they would remain exposed to the ambition and revenge of that untractable man. These reflections induced them to cast a look towards Europe for protection to their country in its peril. With this view, they asked permission of the provinces to invoke the mediation of the European Cabinets, and to leave to them the choice of a prince to govern Greece as an independent

state. This request of the Government reached Athens at the same time as the news of the fall of Navarino. Some of the chiefs communicated to me the Government dispatch, and asked my opinion on the subject. I told them frankly that the poverty of Greece, and its maritime and commercial situation, required an economical and Republican Government: that a European prince cost much more than a Pacha of three tails; and that the revenue of Greece for ten years would notsuffice to lodge and equip a European court. But since improvidence and disunion had so far diminished the hopes of possessing a government of the form best adapted to the nature of the country, that, as an extreme case, the Greeks might make the experiment, whether the ambition of some European power might not be roused in their favour, as humanity alone seemed too inert in them all. Every sacrifice is allowable for the sake of independence. It is a good of most rare value, it is the *life* of life,

for which many of the people of Europe have made sacrifices, even more painful than those the Greeks would be called upon to make. I added, that they ought to convoke a national assembly, and draw up a social compact to bind the reigning stranger, and thus secure themselves against the evils of despotism; that Greece had no other jewels in its crown to offer than good laws; and, finally, that their weakness required them to dissemble, and to interest in their behalf all the Cabinets; trusting, however, principally to *that* which, above every other, was concerned in the independence of Greece, and the balance of power in Europe. This appeal was afterwards made to me by Colouris at Egina, &c. &c. and I replied with the same observations; which, as it appeared to me, were not ill received. Nevertheless the Greeks, though from different views, are all in favour of a republic; the capitani, in order to be caressed by a weak government; the nobles, that they may enjoy

power; and the islanders, freedom of trade: but the fear of the Turkish yoke prevails over every other sentiment.

The short space of time that the Turks allowed me, I devoted to examine the remains of antiquity at Athens. With what pleasure should I describe them, though they are not numerous, were they not described so well and accurately already. I observed, with infinite satisfaction, that for the last year, the society of Athens, styled the "Lovers of the Muses," together with the authorities, took care of the monuments, and especially those in the Acropolis, whence they removed the fragments and rubbish which overshadowed and buried those wondrous remains of Athenian genius and superstition. In the Pnix, which at present is outside the walls, the Athenian people are still accustomed to hold their meetings in times of tranquillity. On this spot, the representatives of Athens were last year elected. When the city is threatened with

Turkish incursions, the people usually collect under the magnificent porch of the temple of Theseus; which commands a view of the country to a great distance. The day that I arrived at Athens, they were assembled there to deliberate whether they should admit General Stati, with one of his relatives, into the city. He had, the day before, offended, in a most brutal manner, one of the delegates of the Government.

There has, for a long time, been a school (Lyceum) at Athens, in which Greek, Italian, and history are taught. It contains a small library and is attended by sixty scholars.

Since the revolution, two schools for mutual instruction, the one for boys, and the other for girls, have been established. The first was opened last October, the other in January. Each has upwards of 100 scholars. The Society of Lovers of the Muses, established at Athens in 1813, superintends these schools with the greatest

care; but the schools, as well as the printing press of the journal under the direction of a young man named Psilla, distinguished equally by talents and love of his country, have been removed to the Island of Salamis. "He is insensible," said one of the ancients, "who has not seen Athens; and still more so he, who, having seen it, does not remain there." I should have staid longer, if the continual alarm of the arrival of the Turks had not obliged me to hasten my departure. One evening, the rumour was spread that they were at Marathon. All the Palicari ran to their posts. I went round the walls to observe their mode of guarding the city. The garrison, which for the most part consists of the citizens of Athens and the peasantry of Attica, pass the night along the walls. Half of them, distributed at short distances, upon the towers that flank the walls, and upon the wooden platforms along them, keep watch; while the others sometimes sleep in the open air, wrapt in their capotes.

From the citadel, or Acropolis, the watchword is given, and is repeated from mouth to mouth along all the walls of the city. The night was dark; a single lantern was seen glimmering in the Acropolis, at the top of an old Venetian tower. In this very tower was incarcerated General Ulysses; who, after having fought for the liberty of Greece, became some months since a rebel to his country, and went over to the Turks. Urged by General Goura, and fearing Turkish vengeance, which inevitably descends on the head of an unfortunate commander, he surrendered to the general, by whom he is kept a state prisoner in the tower. Having heard much of the fine person and of the ingenuity and address of this klepht, which, together with his being born in Ithaca, produce a singular resemblance between him and the ancient Ulysses, I felt a strong desire to visit him, and asked permission accordingly, which however was not granted. Ulysses is the son of a klepht, who, having

sought refuge in Austria, was shamefully given up by that Government to the Ottoman Porte; and being asked by the Turks what he would do if he regained his liberty, he replied, "I would kill twice as many of you as I have killed already." The memory of his father, and these cries of alarm must pierce his breast, if in the heart of a traitor there can remain any sense of virtue and patriotism.

I left Athens and returned to Egina, to effect my promised pilgrimage to the Temple of Jupiter. Its remains, consisting of only twenty-three columns, stand on a mountain, distant about four hours' journey from the port of Egina. It is one of the most agreeable walks that a traveller can take. The Island is beautiful, and almost all cultivated. The soil produces every sort of fruit. The path which leads to the temple winds through valleys and fields, interspersed with pomegranate, fig, and olive trees. Before reaching the temple we crossed a thick wood of odorife-

rous pine. The view from the temple embraces Cape Colonna, Salamis, the Parthenon, and Eleusis; and from the temple to the sea, in two directions, is a gentle declivity. Whilst I was contemplating these massive Doric columns, furrowed by thirty centuries of age, those immense stones which form the architraves, some of which are untouched, and others thrown down on the ground, with several of the shafts of the columns, we heard in the direction of Cape Colonna the firing of cannon, and felt the shock of an explosion. The echo of the cannon continued whilst we were descending the mountain. After a quarter of an hour it ceased. We ascended another mountain at the west of the island, overhanging a convent of Caloyers, of whom we determined to ask hospitality for the night. The monastery has not only the appearance, but the strength, of a castle. Its walls are turreted, and of strong stone. The cells of the monks are like casemates. A tower flanks the gate, which

is narrow, and cased with iron. It is, however, occupied by only eight monks, and contains within nothing martial—all breathes peace and plenty. Some of the Caloyers were supping with the good humour and good appetite represented in the Flemish pictures of tavern scenery: whilst one of them was reading the miracles of the saints in a great folio book, with as much attention as if it had been an Arab tale. The monks received us with the greatest kindness, placed before us a most savoury supper, and gave us coverlets for our beds, that were very clean. One of the Caloyers woke us at dawn, and conducted us to the top of a neighbouring mountain, from which we perceived the Turkish fleet sailing towards Hydra. We took leave of the hospitable monks, and proceeded to the harbour. On descending the mountain, we distinguished a convoy of eighteen caïques, full of Roumeliot soldiers, raising anchor, to sail to reinforce the garrison of Hydra. Having arrived

at the harbour, we learnt from the brig, which the people of Egina keep cruising off Cape Colonna, that the squadron of Sactouri had the day before burnt a Turkish frigate, and another vessel in the waters of Negropont; hence the explosion we had heard at the Temple of Jupiter. The news was confirmed. When we passed by Negropont and Andros, some days after, on the voyage to Smyrna, we saw pieces of timber and dead bodies floating upon the sea.

Impatient to return to Napoli di Romania, I hired a caïque to proceed to Piada in company with an Ipsariot sailor, a lively young man, who interested me with his agreeable anecdotes during the voyage. At the sight of our caïque, as it was passing close to the island of Angistri, a group of women and children collected upon a promontory, asked us news of Sactouri's squadron. We consoled them with the account of the victory. We landed, after a passage of four hours, on the beautiful and fertile shores of Piada. This

village is situated two miles from the sea, and very much resembles the villages of Switzerland. I hired a guide to lead me to the house in which the Greeks had for the first time assembled in 1821, to proclaim their independence, and to form a constitution which they wished to ennoble with an ancient name, and called it the "Constitution of Epidaurus." It is a large rustic chamber, forming a parallelogram, and insulated in the middle of the village, near an ancient tower erected in the time of the Venetians, and now inhabited by a poor old woman. This rough dwelling reminded me of the cottages of Uri, where the Swiss confederated against the tyranny of Austria. The Government intends, if fortune should be propitious, to erect a church on the spot, in commemoration of the resurrection of Greece. May such a church become one day more famous than St. Peter's at Rome!

To take advantage of the part of the day remaining, I went to visit the ruins of the ancient

Epidaurus, which are only two hours distant from Piada. The road that leads to it is a path along the hills, covered with laurels, myrtles, and pines, and always in sight of the sea. The ruins of the ancient city are merely a few pieces of the wall, connected by large square stones. I did not see the temple of Esculapius, which is an hour's walk from the ancient city. The gulph is tranquil, retired, and soothingly melancholy. I did not perceive a single boat to recall in idea the noise and bustle of the world. The shore is at present occupied by a colony of Greeks from Negropont, who repose in this fruitful land, after having escaped from the Turks, and pursue the occupations of agriculture, in which they surpass the rest of the Greeks. In fact, the country is covered with kitchen-gardens, fields, and luxuriant vineyards. This rising colony is lodged partly in small dwellings, and partly in cottages of boughs and leaves. Unfortunate Greeks! They are like

the bees, which, after their hive is destroyed, cannot abandon the mountain which has given them support. Recollecting Homer's phrase, "The vine-gladded Epidaurus," I wished to taste the wine of the place, and having entered one of the cottages, I invited the sailor to drink success to new Ipsara. He thanked me for my good wishes, but excused himself from drinking, saying, that neither he nor his brothers had ever tasted wine; and that the young people of Ipsara never make use of that beverage till after twenty years of age. This Ipsariot was delighted to talk of his country—a sweet consolation to all exiles; and I willingly listened to him, from my desire of knowing the customs of those unfortunate islanders. He told me that Ipsara was neither enslaved nor unhappy before the revolution. It governed itself like Spezzia, Hydra, and some of the other Islands of the Archipelago, and Turkey was satisfied with a nominal obedience; but this state of tolerated

independence was about to cease. The Porte, jealous of the prosperity and the ascendency of the Islands of the Archipelago, had resolved in secret upon the destruction of their commerce and their marine, by an act of perfidy such as that Government usually employs. Ipsara was, therefore, to have taken up arms to prevent slavery, and, perhaps, extermination. The Ipsariots, before the revolution, lived together like brothers in one family. "We are still united," said he, "and we love each other in our affliction: our friendship was such, that none of our young women contracted marriages out of the Island, nor could any Greek of the other Islands obtain a wife in any of our families, without having lived amongst us many years. Commerce was our profession; matrimony our felicity. All our study was directed to attach the affections of our wife to the man who was to share with her the fortune of life. From our infancy, therefore, our parents contracted the marriages

of their children; and the wife from her childhood accustomed her heart to love him with whom she was to spend her days. Woe to the youth who had been wanting in his promise! the vengeance of the girl's parents was inevitable.

"Before the revolution we lived by commerce, and we now live by our courage; and I may even say, by our cunning. A fortnight ago, with a vessel mounting a single cannon, I surprised and boarded by night a Turkish vessel mounting twelve. The Turks, when made prisoners, reproached me with having attacked them by night. War, I told them, is to be made both with courage and cunning. When the forces are disproportioned, it is necessary to have recourse to address. The Turks possess frigates and ships of the line; and we can only oppose them with our courage and our fire-ships. In our need, we never fail in the former. The Ipsariot Papa, Nicholi, who was the

first that burnt a Turkish ship of the line; Nicodemo, who burnt a Turkish corvette; and, above all, my cousin Canaris, are, I think, living testimonies of our resolution. You saw, at Egina, that old sailor who is always in the midst of us; that was Commodore Apostoli, who once commanded our squadron, and whom we look upon as our patriarch. That brave man, in one of the battles fought with the Turks, perceiving that his son, a boy of fourteen, had taken refuge under cover, descended himself, carried him above, and said: 'This is the post for the son of Apostoli:' you see, then, that with these examples before our eyes, our sailors cannot be wanting in courage." I learnt afterwards with much pleasure that this young Ipsariot, distinguished by his good sense, courage, and personal strength, had obtained the command of a fire-ship.

The road from Piada to Napoli di Romania is beautiful; it is diversified with hills and

woods, and intersected by numerous streams. The journey lasted seven hours. On my arrival in Napoli di Romania, I had the consolation of embracing Major Collegno, who had returned from the siege of Navarino. He had scarcely quitted that city, when he made a search in the camp of Ibrahim for his friend Count Santa Rosa, to render the last offices of friendship to his body. The officers of Ibrahim showed the greatest desire to satisfy his wishes, but every search was unavailing; and there remained of Count Santa Rosa only the certainty of his death.

Colocotroni at this time had set out for Tripolizza. In all the places through which he passed, he had the coffee-houses and taverns shut up, and called all his countrymen to arms. By the 10th of June he had assembled about 8000 men at Tripolizza. In the mean time, however, the Egyptians were continuing to advance in the Morea: partial fighting took

place every day with various success; and, in one of the most important skirmishes that happened in the mountains, between Leondari and Modon, the minister of the interior, Papa Flescia, fell bravely fighting. This singular man had been one of the most zealous apostles of the revolution in the Morea. He could not, however, keep himself free from corruption, but enriched himself in the midst of the miseries of his country; neither did he respect the character of priest with which he was invested, but lived surrounded by a numerous harem. Actuated by the danger of his country, he went from Napoli di Romania with the intention of making a levy of soldiers, and fighting at their head. I met him on the road between Argos and Tripolizza, preceded by his harem, and two pipe-bearers in the oriental style, and with all the pomp of a Pacha. He was handsome, and had a countenance expressive of majesty and grandeur, which always impresses

the people. He could raise only 800 men, with whom he undertook to defend a post; upon which the Egyptians made a warm attack, but his soldiers did not stand firm; only 150 men remained with him, and he continued fighting till he was killed; and thus expiated his vices by a valiant death. This battle cost the Egyptians many men. Ibrahim Pacha, elated at the death of Papa Flescia, despatched an express to the Sultan with the statement. In the account that I read in Smyrna a fortnight after, Ibrahim admitted a loss of 250 men. After this, the Egyptians advanced to the city of Arcadia; but General Cogliopulo repulsed them, and they fell back several miles. On the 11th of June, however, the day on which I left Greece, the news reached Napoli di Romania that the Egyptians had entered Calamata.

The following is a short account of the state of Greece, at the period when I left Napoli di

Romania on the 11th of June, to proceed to Smyrna.

The army of Ibrahim Pacha was upwards of 11,000 strong, and disciplined in the European manner. This force, however, was not sufficient either to open a communication with the garrison of Patras, on account of the distance; or to march upon Tripolizza, which was defended by ravines and difficult passes. Ibrahim might, however, attempt either the one or the other of these operations, if he should receive reinforcements, as it is probable by this time he has. On the 30th of June, I passed through the midst of the Egyptian fleet, consisting of upwards of 100 sail, which was directing its course towards Navarino. Twelve frigates, six corvettes, and as many brigs and schooners, mounting above a thousand pieces of cannon, formed the convoy. The Greek fleet, which I had seen the day before to the South of the Island of Cerigo,

consisting of only forty brigs and a dozen fire-ships; was not in a condition to offer them battle; and has not, I fear, been able to prevent a disembarkation.

Colocotroni had collected about 12,000 men, but had not yet begun operations.

The Turkish garrison of Patras amounted to 4 or 5000 men, who were, however, inactive, and were watched by a corps of 2000 Greeks, encamped at a distance of five miles from the place.

With the exception of Messolunghi and the Acropolis of Athens, the fortresses of Greece were neither strong nor well-provisioned. Napoli di Malvasia had not supplies for a fortnight. The Turks of Negropont may devastate Attica by their incursions, but they are not sufficiently numerous to besiege Athens, and still less the citadel.

Ten thousand Turks occupy Salona, but the corps of General Goura, amounting to 2000

men, and 2000 more under the command of Caraiscachi, Botzari, and Giavella, have not allowed them to advance upon Athens.

Messolunghi had a garrison of 2000 men, and provisions for four months. In a late sortie by the garrison, the besieging Turks, to the number of 12,000 men, suffered the loss of many pieces of artillery, and were beginning to appear dispirited at the resistance they had experienced; so that the danger which impends over Greece from this campaign is confined to the operations of Ibrahim Pacha. Nevertheless, that danger is great. In Smyrna, the opinion prevails that Ibrahim will succeed in his undertaking to reduce the Morea. Many merchants, however, of that city have made the observation, that the Porte is contracting its efforts and its levies, from apprehension of the progress of Ibrahim.

The Government of Napoli had received 40,000*l.* sterling from London; but this sum was soon absorbed by the demands of the fleet

and of Colocotroni's army: and in the midst of their difficulties, they were hesitating on the expediency of sending a deputation to some of the Cabinets of Europe to invoke their generous protection.

The battalion which has been practising the European evolutions in Napoli di Romania, is only 600 strong, badly armed, and in want of better instruction than it receives.

The French colonel Fabvier (whose name stands in need of no eulogy) has proposed to the Government to levy in Attica a corps of 1000 men, which, whilst receiving instructions in the practical school of war, may serve as a nursery for officers of the army. If the Government does not neglect this suggestion, like many others, it may obtain great advantage from such an institution. The president, from dread of falling into the clutches of Colocotroni, had retired to Hydra on pretence of ill health.

Greece appears to have continued in the state

I have described until the 1st of July; for, having spoken two brigs which we met near Cerigo, on the 29th of June, we were informed that no engagement of importance had taken place.

REMARKS.

As a sequel to this hasty narrative of my excursion, I have thought fit to make a few observations, suggested to me by the aspect of the circumstances I have witnessed.

GOVERNMENT.

THE Government is neither sufficiently active nor powerful. Its slowness proceeds from the non-division of labour, and its weakness from the number of members. The ministers are mere heads of offices; they have no power to despatch even ordinary business. The executive body embraces, assumes, and monopolizes every thing: it has inherited from the Turkish Pachas their mistrust of inferiors,

and their mania for doing all themselves. The chamber of the legislative body is, as it were, a flowing and ebbing of petitioners, claimants, and importunators of every kind. It sits the whole day, and decides nothing. The number also of its members produces differences, always injurious to decorum and energy, and, at the same time, hostile to the progress of business. The executive is changed twice a year. This very short period allows the members no time to become acquainted with their duties, or to undertake and accomplish any thing. It is therefore essential that the National Assembly should alter the constitution of the Government. It is necessary that a single head, assisted by ministers, should impress a movement upon all affairs; and it is, besides, necessary, that this head should remain in office for at least three years. The too frequent change of the members of a government, in an ambitious and restless nation like Greece, is more prejudicial than in any other.

ARMY.

When Europe shall hear that the Greek Government resolved last May to take into its pay 4000 foreign regular troops, and to form four regiments of regular national soldiers, she will find some difficulty in reconciling this measure with the eulogies that have been bestowed on the Greek irregulars, and the prodigies that certain writers have related of this species of guerillas. If, however, attention be paid to the difference of the periods, the impartial observer will perceive that there has not been much exaggeration in those encomiastic descriptions, and he will also perceive that there has been wisdom shown in the recent deliberations of the Greek Government.

At the first breaking out of the Revolution, an uncontrolled enthusiam was most calculated to terrify, confound, and destroy an enemy, who, attacked on all sides by every species of

weapons and diversity of assailant, could find no interval of quiet, no place of safety. Irregular troops are in conformity with this enthusiasm, which rises into a flame in every nation aspiring to liberty. Such troops were seen to spring up in Germany during the thirty years' war, during the revolution of North America, and during the war of independence in Spain. Every individual at the commencement of a revolution, feels an exuberance of courage and daring; he has an ardent desire of revenge, which it is impossible to subject to any control or discipline. Hence he finds a wider field, and one more in accordance with his passions, in fighting as a volunteer, and in the disorder and tumult of a guerilla warfare. But enthusiasm is in its nature fleeting: after a time it cools, and evaporates; revenge itself is satiated, and the love of glory, like every other passion, finally becomes enfeebled.

The danger of the case demands truth. Let

us be sincere. That ardour which at first placed arms in the hands of the clergy and even of women, has passed away. There is no longer any revenge to be exercised upon the enemy, no longer any booty to be seized. A large portion of the Greeks, as soon as they beheld their soil freed from the enemy, returned to their flocks and the employments of agriculture. The Capitani, who remained with arms in their hands in defence of their country, perceived the necessity there was for their personal support; and, from disinterested protectors, they became like the Condottieri of the middle ages of Italy. By turns, faithful and unfaithful to the Government, now joining one party and now another, venal and changing at the price of the factions constantly opposed to each other, they have become the dread rather of their fellow citizens than of the enemy. The Government, generally incapable of rewarding soldiers of merit, vainly lavishes the titles of

colonel and general. The necessity also of diminishing the influence of certain ambitious and insolent chieftains, prompted the expedient of multiplying these ranks. Hence we find in Greece above 300 generals, whilst the whole army does not exceed 15,000 men. These Capitani have no fixed pay; but they pay themselves extravagantly by making returns of many hundred soldiers beyond the real number. The minister of war, in the month of April, told me that the Government issued pay for 17,000 men, though he was certain there were not more than 10,000 in the field. There is neither power nor law to remedy this disorder; there are neither inspectors of the army, nor commissaries: hence there is no legal mode of convicting the Capitani of fraud; and hence also, the Government has no means of knowing exactly the number of troops it can oppose to the enemy; a most fatal inconvenience. General Anagnostara, one of the three ministers of war, who ought to have

had a corps of 2000 men, presented himself on the day of the capture of Sphacteria with only eleven! It was therefore full time to put an end to so ruinous a practice. The enemy is, perhaps, not so strong in numbers as in the first years of the revolution; but he is more formidable from his plans, his perseverance, and the discipline of his troops. The warfare of the Egyptians is not like the deluging attacks of the Turks, which lasted three or four months and then ceased of themselves. The operations of the Egyptians are carried on with a European prudence, consistency, and ardour. They encamp, they manœuvre, they obey like Europeans: besides which, they have had many years experience in a successful war against the Wachabees in Arabia, and against the Greeks themselves in the island of Candia. It is therefore indispensable that the Greek Government should oppose to them similar armies, and supply the decay of enthusiasm by skill and dis-

cipline. The national regular troops will not in the end prove more expensive than the present irregulars; and the country will no longer have to fear the rapine of a licentious soldiery, often more destructive than the enemy. The foreign regulars, it is true, will cost much more than an equal number of national regulars; but they are indispensable, to give immediate power to the Government for emancipating itself from the caprice and insolence of the Capitani, whilst, by their example, they will contribute to the formation of the national regiments.

FLEET.

The Greek fleet has performed prodigies in the revolution, considering the paucity and the smallness of the vessels. Many of its achievements are worthy of antiquity; but the heroic actions of some of its seamen must not dazzle us so far as to make us believe they have ever been masters of the sea. They have rather frightened than

beaten the enemy; I dare affirm that they neither are, nor have been masters of the sea. Have they ever been able to effect the blockade of Patras? Have they been able to support the insurrection of Candia?—to prevent the destruction of Scio, or the burning of Ipsara?—to prevent this very year three disembarkations of Egyptians in the Morea, or the capture of Sphacteria? The fleet itself has some defects similar to those of the army. Many brigs have not the number of men placed by the captains on the pay lists. The ships do not belong to the Government, and their owners avoid a close engagement, to prevent their destruction. It is then evident that the Government has need of a marine entirely and independently its own, consisting of at least six frigates—in which case the fleet, instead of confining itself to a maritime guerilla warfare, may support general engagements, and avail itself of the superior courage and address of its sailors.

LOAN.

All men know that in war we want three things—money, money, and more money. Greece has twice had money for this war; but she wants it a third time. How can she arm frigates, pay a body of foreigners, clothe and provide for her regiments, without another Loan? The deficiency must be supplied by the spirit and interest of the same merchants who have already furnished her with the two former Loans. There is no longer time for regrets, or half-way hesitation. The supporters of Greece are her allies—they are the companions of her fate. To save the whole, they must risk another portion. By the disbursement of another million, the merchants may secure the sum already granted: but if a cold prudence should close their purse, the capital previously advanced will be much endangered. Greece, if she gain her independence, has a suf-

ficient quantity of land to pay twenty times her debt. Nineteen twentieths of the Morea belong to the Government: before the revolution, almost the whole of it belonged to the Turks; and the native Government has succeeded these usurpers. At the beginning of the present year, whilst the danger from the Egyptians was remote, the national domains were let at double the price of the preceding year. With peace these lands would decuple their produce and value. It is however just, that the holders of the Loan should be assured of the advantageous and correct appropriation of the money, if they continue to expose their capital to the chances of war. It would therefore be beneficial to the commercial body, and to Greece herself, if on farther advances being made, the former should preface the consignment of the money to the latter, with the same conditions that Governments attach to the subsidies they grant to the States in alliance with them. For example, they should point out

the sum to be employed in the maintenance of frigates, in the provisioning of fortresses, and in the pa yment of a corps of regular troops, and should nominate a commissary, as an inspector upon the spot, to watch over the execution of the conditions.

VICEROY OF EGYPT.

Mohammed Ali Pacha has declared that he will devote to the conquest of the Morea the last man and the last penny he possesses. This is not a vain boast, coming, as it does, from a man like Mohammed Ali, persevering and fortunate in all his enterprises. Greece is, in fact, of incalculable importance to this prince. Through her he enters Europe, and approaches towards that civilization which he has been cultivating for the last twenty years, whilst he places himself in the vicinity of that Albania, with the troops of which he has conquered Arabia. By the conquest of Greece he will be able to augment his

army with 20,000 robust and valiant soldiers, and supply his navy with 10,000 expert sailors.

The army of Ibrahim Pacha, the son of the Viceroy, which is now fighting in Greece, could not, certainly, stand against a European force of equal numbers; but it has the advantage over the Greeks in discipline and skill. Ibrahim is surrounded by six or eight foreigners, who have instructed the Egyptian officers in European tactics; and who always advise him in his military operations. No European holds a command, except Major Seve, a Frenchman, who, after having embraced the Mahometan faith, assumed the title of Soliman Bey. This man exercises the actual power of his charge, and enjoys the confidence of the Viceroy. At the head-quarters of Ibrahim, the same humanity and politeness reign, that are witnessed in the armies of civilized nations. Instead of irritating the Greeks by a brutal ferocity, he endeavours to reconcile and disarm them by the system of pacification he has

hitherto followed. He grants terms, respects persons and property in the countries he conquers, and treats his prisoners with gentleness and moderation. After the capture of Navarino, he accepted the offer of exchanging General Iatracco, the son of Petro Bey, Mauromicali, for the Pacha, whom the Greeks keep in confinement at Napoli di Romania. This moderation of his, whether feigned or sincere, may ultimately prove fatal to Greece. It is said, that the plan of Ibrahim was to take this year some of the fortresses of the Morea, and in the following to gain possession of the interior. It is certain that he is both prudent and active. At Modon he had collected provisions and ammunition for two years. Military campaigns in Greece have almost always commenced late: the battles of Marathon and Platea were fought in September, that of Salamis in October, and the battle of Cheronea in August. Of late years, the Turks have begun their campaign at the end of the

spring: Ibrahim, on the contrary, as has been seen, effected his disembarkation in the Morea one month before the end of the winter.

The ambition of Mohammed Ali Pacha appears on the point of inspiring the Porte itself with some fear. That Government, at first from despair, sought the assistance of the Pacha of Egypt, in accordance with its policy of destroying one rebel by means of another: but it perceived, perhaps too late, that it had given an old rebel the opportunity of becoming too powerful, and possibly, hereafter unconquerable. In fact, it appears that this year the forces and the armaments of the Porte have not been adequate to the wants and the importance of the campaign. The garrison of Patras, which might have made a favourable diversion for Ibrahim, remained idle and inactive the whole time of the siege. The Turkish fleet, which might have landed troops in the island of Negropont, and placed the Morea between the

two fires, appears to have had no soldiers on board for a descent. In Thessaly there was no assemblage of troops; no invasion was threatened from that quarter till the month of June. A few thousand Turks only besieged Messolunghi, and a few advanced as far as Salona, but without vigour or plan. Every thing induces the belief that the Porte, mindful of what it cost to destroy Ali Pacha a few years since, must have repented of having called to the conquest of Greece, a Pacha not less enterprising, and more fortunate than Ali.

The problem concerning Greece is become more complicated than ever. A new episode has arisen. Who could have foreseen that the Viceroy of Egypt, allured by the offer of the Pachalick of Candia and the Morea, would take up arms in favour of the Porte?

Perhaps the aggrandisement of Egypt, at the expense of Greece, may be advantageous to some European power: but to the rulers of

the East Indies, whether is such an aggrandisement advantageous, or is it dangerous? Is the vicinity of an active, ambitious, and enterprising despot beneficial, or is it dangerous to the protectors of the Ionian Islands? This is one view of the question that interests England. I abstain from the discussion—it belongs peculiarly to those writers and those eminent men who watch over the glory and interests of their country.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX (A.)

Translation of the Letter addressed to the Author of this account.

" Sir,— Since you have been pleased to direct your philhellenic curiosity towards the schools which are established in free Greece; in compliance with this your laudable desire, and the duties of my office, I lay before you a candid statement of the plan, and the object of my regulations in the schools. I shall next proceed to give you an account of those which are now formed in Greece, both grammar-schools and those on the plan of mutual instruction.

" Sir, the Government, although overwhelmed with cares and occupations, equally necessary to repulse the enemy, and establish order in the interior, has not omitted directing its attention and paternal solicitude towards the instruction of youth; being aware that a good education is the basis of all political and social virtues, and the light which guides every citizen to the knowledge and the performance of his duties. Therefore the Government has decreed:

" 1st. The establishment at Argos of a general school of mutual instruction, to which are to be sent, from each province, three or four youths, having a tolerable knowledge of the Hellenic language, to learn this useful method; and then return into their own province, and teach it to others, that it may be spread throughout Greece. This school has been established, and is now in a flourishing condition.

" 2d. The establishment also at Argos of an academy, in harmony with the present state of Greece, to which are to be invited all those learned

Greeks whom circumstances have detained in different parts of Europe, that each may communicate to the nation the knowledge he has acquired while absent from his country. There shall also be invited into Greece, as many learned men, from the enlightened nations of Europe, as shall be judged necessary for the perfect establishment of the academy. The rich and worthy patriot (Varvachi) has already contributed the funds necessary for the support of the school. The Government is willing to make up any deficiency out of the national revenue, and, in a short time, a statement of the condition of this establishment will be given. In the capital of each province will be formed a *primary* central school of mutual instruction, and also a grammar-school, in which will be taught:—

"1st. The ancient (or literary) Greek language with its relation to the modern.

"2d. The elements of geography, history, logic, metaphysics, arithmetic, geometry, and every thing necessary for preparing the youths to enter the academy of Argos.

"3d. One or two of the European languages.

"In each town or village of importance shall be established a private school of mutual instruction, and another for Greek, in which shall be taught the elements of the literary Greek tongue, and, if possible, some European language, such as French or Italian.

"Such, Sir, is the intention of the Government respecting schools, for the execution of which intention it employs the most suitable means.

"Both grammar-schools, and those for mutual instruction, are now established in the free provinces, as I shall proceed to inform you.

"At Athens are two central schools of mutual instruction, and two grammar-schools, one of which has been named the Lyceum. In this last are taught:

"1st. Ancient Greek, as compared with modern.

"2d. Italian.

"3d. The elements of geography, arithmetic, geometry, logic, and metaphysics.

"The city has also a small printing-press, the donation of the English Philhellenic Committee.

"In the Island of Tino, a central school of mutual instruction, and a grammar-school, named Lyceum. where are taught Ancient Greek and the elements of philosophy.

"In the Island of Andros, three schools of mutual instruction, in different parts of the island, also two grammar-schools in different places, in which are taught ancient Greek and the elements of philosophy.

"In the Island of Syphno, a grammar-school, which the inhabitants wish to change into a Lyceum. Schools of mutual instruction have not yet been established there for want of masters; although search is making for qualified instructors. In the Island of Patmos there existed before the Revolution a famous Greek school, in which were taught with great precision, ancient Greek, the philosophy of Aristotle, rhetoric, and poetry. From this school have proceeded wise and virtuous masters, who have spread the light of knowledge throughout Greece, and have adopted an easier and more exact method for the acquisition of the Greek language. This school, although it has fluctuated a little through recent cir-

cumstances, still exists; and the Government intends to restore it to its pristine vigour and reputation. There are in this school, a library, and many manuscripts. A school of mutual instruction has already been established at Patmos.

"In the Cyclades and the Sphorades are schools; one, two, or three, being established in each island, according to its extent. In these are taught ancient Greek, the elements of philosophy, and frequently the French and Italian languages. However, in consequence of the unsettled state of things, they are not yet very flourishing. In some Islands, schools of mutual instruction have been also formed, and are even daily forming, according to the intentions of the Government.

"At Tripolizza, the capital of the Peloponnesus, is a central school of mutual instruction, and also a grammar-school. The inhabitants and the Government intend to form it into a Lyceum, for the instruction of elementary philosophy, and the European languages.

"In the city of St. John (Astros) is a school of mutual instruction, and a grammar-school with a good library, and an apparatus for experimental philosophy; Italian is also taught there.

"At St. Pietros, a village near Astros, is a school of mutual instruction, and also a grammar-school, which is not yet well established, on account of the state of affairs.

"In the province of Kariténa, are four grammar-schools, of which one is at Vitina, one at Dimizzana, one at Stemnitza, and one at Lancadia, but they are badly conducted. There will also be established there schools of mutual instruction, as well as in the other provinces of the Peloponnesus.

"At Messolunghi, is a central school of mutual instruction, and also a grammar-school, in which are taught ancient Greek, French, and Italian.

In the Greek provinces, under the Mussulman yoke, were many famous schools, enriched with libraries and philosophical instruments, but they no longer exist.

"Such are, Sir, the grammar-schools, and those of mutual instruction established in free Greece, together with their present condition.

"I will now enumerate, as you request, those things of which these schools at present stand in need.

"The schools of mutual instruction are in want of every thing necessary for that peculiar plan, viz. slates, pens, pencils, and copies. The grammar-schools have very few, or, to speak more truly, they are utterly destitute of necessary books; and if the academy of Argos had a press fit for printing books in different sorts of types, and every thing requisite, it might supply the deficiency of copies for mutual instruction, and of books necessary for teaching the elementary sciences. The Government intends, and wishes to obtain for the national schools the necessary means of instruction, but more urgent wants oppose that design. God grant that all obstacles to this intention may soon be removed! In the mean time, if the Philhellenic Society should obtain for the Greek nation the means requisite for the instruction

the gratitude of the Greeks will be extended to future ages, and their descendants will, with reason, acknowledge the kindness of their benefactors.

"Highly gratified with having gained your friendship, I have the honour, &c. The Ephore of Public Instruction in Greece.

GREGORY CONSTANTAS.

"Tripolizza, 25th April, 1825."

APPENDIX. (B.)

Details of the military operations which took place on the 26th April, on the Island of Sphacteria, and the waters of Navarino.

Ibrahim Pacha had perceived the impossibility of gaining possession of the fortress of Navarino, without first making himself master of the Island of Sphacteria, which forms the harbour, and from which he could easily bombard the fortress, as well as Old Navarino, situated at the extremity of the ports. The arrival of the fleet, which he had been long expecting, enabled him to execute the project.

The president of the executive body, who com-

manded the expedition, but who, from indisposition, had retired a short distance ftom the army, being informed of this intention of the Pacha, resolved to send his excellency Prince Mavrocordato to the general encampment of the Greeks, in order to induce them to reinforce the positions hereafter mentioned.

His Excellency arrived at Old Navarino on the night of the 24th or 25th, and found it defended by *100 men*, under the command of General Hadgj Christo and the Archbishop of Modon. On the 25th, at five in the morning, the outposts announced the arrival of the Egyptians, who were advancing upon the tongue of land which separates the harbour from the lake.

The Cretans, whom the Prince had brought with him, made a dash upon the enemy, and compelled him by the fire of the tiralleurs to fall back. During the skirmish, the sight of the Greek fleet, with the wind in its favour, sailing towards the enemy's fleet, redoubled the courage of the Greeks. Still, the Egyptians did not retire altogether, but kept out of reach of cannon-shot. We imagined that the

affair was at an end; but at mid-day the attack began again on the side of Old Navarino. It was soon over; and we perceived that the intention of the enemy was only to reconnoitre our positions, and to seize the village of Petrochori, standing near Old Navarino, and the tongue of land, preparatory to a regular attack on the old city, whilst the fleet was effecting a landing on the Island. The Prince, convinced that it would take place the following day, sent the same night some troops over to the Island to strengthen the points that were weak, and in the morning he joined them himself. The number of men assigned for the defence of this position did not amount to 500, including the sailors that had been landed from the eight Greek ships in the harbour; and this number, as his Excellency directly perceived, was insufficient for the defence. But what was to be done? Above all, it was essential to endeavour to prevent a disembarkation, which the enemy's fleet, by its coasting along the island, satisfied us it was about to attempt. The Prince visited all the positions, strengthened the weakest, and encouraged

the men to do their duty. He wished to form a corps of 100 men, to move upon the point where the enemy should attempt their landing; but the disorder that always reigns amongst irregular troops, prevented it, notwithstanding its obvious importance. Three batteries, mounting eight cannons and a mortar, had been raised on the Island, but they were of no great utility.

The enemy's fleet, to the number of fifty-two sail, were drawn up in good order: the brigs in advance, and covered by the frigates and corvettes from the attacks of the Greek fleet, which was, unfortunately, too far distant to give them any disturbance. Whilst the Prince was indefatigably ordering and disposing every thing for the best, the hostile fleet approached, surveyed us, and then fired two signal guns. Instantly the attack began on Old Navarino, and at the same moment the enemy's ships commenced their fire upon the Island. This was at eleven o'clock. The Prince being dressed in the European costume, was distinguished by those Franks who had once served under his orders, and who, basely deserting

the cross, had gone over to the Africans. The cannon were immediately directed to the spot where the Prince was standing; fearing, therefore, for his life, we besought him to retire, but our entreaties were unavailing.

We perceived the boats filling with Arabs to the sound of drums. They were ranged around, and began to move to the intended place of disembarkation. A brisk firing commenced on both sides—besides that from the fleet. The Arabs were at first repulsed, and seemed about to retire, but an Egyptian brig compelled them to return. Half an hour passed in the midst of a thick smoke, which prevented our seeing the progress of the disembarkation; when all at once the cry was heard, "the Egyptians are in the Island!" The Prince, and those around, attempted to gain a height in the midst of a shower of balls; the former at length, exhausted with fatigue, exclaimed, "Help me, I am falling!" Instantly his general, the faithful Catzaro, and one of the soldiers, took him in their arms, and carried him to the height. Here we perceived the Greeks taking to flight, and

pursued by the Egyptians. All hopes were at an end. The Greek ships in the harbour had already put to sea, with the exception of a single one, that had not yet cut its cable, the brig of Captain Anastasius Psamadò, who had come to the Island with the Prince, and got separated in the confusion.

We hastened down to the sea, when a boat was sent to take the Prince on board. The sailors asked for their captain, "Was he saved?" Alas! we were ignorant of his fate. We entered the boat as the Egyptians had gained the heights, having overwhelmed the unfortunate Greeks, and pursued them to the sea. The boat was sent back for Captain Psamadò, whom the sailors imagined they saw on the shore. The Greek ships that had first set sail, taking advantage of a brisk wind, were already out of sight. Psamadò's brig alone remained. The cables were ordered to be cut. The sailors exclaimed, "Where is the captain?" The boat did not come back. We expected the delay would be the cause of our ruin. The sailors would wait for the captain: at length the boat returned, but, alas! without him.

The cables were then cut, and we set sail; but the wind began to fall. Dimitri Sartouri, the commandant of the fortress of Navarino, who the morning before had come to the Island to see the Prince, had been pursued to the shore by the Arabs, when he plunged into the sea amidst a shower of balls, and swam to the vessel. He had seen Captain Psamadò fall. Thus perished this brave man, the brother in arms of Miaulis, and one of the most distinguished captains of Greece. One of the sailors, in despair for the loss of his captain, was about to set fire to the magazine, and it was with great difficulty that he could be brought to reason. We prepared for action; and Sartouri was chosen to command the vessel. He encouraged the sailors by his composure, and resolved to conquer or die. It was determined to pass through the enemy's fleet, which was waiting for us at the entrance of the harbour, as for a certain prey. The batteries erected on the island in front of Navarino were about to contribute to our destruction. The Arabs turned them against us. But despair gives courage; and we conceived a hope that it was pos-

sible to escape. At length we quitted the harbour, when five vessels, a frigate, a corvette, and three brigs, surrounded us and began firing. Our sailors, with determined courage, returned it briskly; and the enemy perceiving that we had the advantage, resolved to board us. The sailors immediately left the guns, and took to their small arms and cutlasses; but, at this time, hope did forsake us, and we were just on the point of blowing up the vessel. The Prince, who had evinced the same *sang froid* as on the Island, was thrown down by a ball, and was waiting his death with composure, happy in the thoughts of dying in the service of his country, and with no other regret, on quitting this vale of alarms, than that of being no longer able to serve the Greeks. His Excellency, with a pistol in his hand, was awaiting the moment of boarding, to put a period to his existence. Vile Africans! in vain did you flatter yourselves with the hopes of taking alive the best of the Greeks. The sailors went below, or commended themselves to the Holy Virgin, embraced her image, and, full of confidence in divine mercy, returned to

the fight with the most undaunted resolution. The wind began to blow, but a further swarm of vessels commenced a fire upon us. Our brig, however, made way, our sailors felt their hopes revive, and we dared entertain the belief that it was possible to escape death. An old brig, a bad sailer, harassed us considerably, and did us much damage. Our sails were shot through and through, and our masts were injured, as well as our rudder; but the cry was heard that Miaulis had attacked the Egyptian fleet, upon which every one redoubled his exertions, and the brig that annoyed us, manned, I have no doubt, with Europeans, sheered off;—but why should I add more? This battle will hereafter be spoken of, and regarded as a fable. In short, after having sustained an attack from thirty-four ships of war, comprising frigates and corvettes, as well as brigs, after having caused the enemy considerable loss, and after having continued the fight for six hours without hopes of success, we were permitted to continue our course without further opposition from the Egyptian vessels. Thanks to the God of Battle! a merchant brig of eighteen guns fought a whole fleet of many sail,

and came off conquerors. O ye English and French admirals! many traits of bravery, almost incredible, have been recorded of you; but what will the world at large say of the battle maintained by the Mars? Our sailors, urged by despair, fought like lions; and hardly believing their success, they humbled themselves before the God of Armies, who had preserved them from apparently inevitable death. Glory to the Eternal! The first and most illustrious of the supporters of Greek liberty, Prince Mavrocordato, has not fallen. His talents are still destined to save his country: and it was not written in the Book of Fate that one of the greatest ornaments of this world should be carried off in the flower of his age, and in the midst of the greatest dangers. His Excellency was perfectly composed, and happy to die for his country. Always kind and considerate, he was grieved to see us involved in his misfortune, and appeared to reproach us for having been too much attached to him. We had but two sailors killed, and seven wounded. Amongst the latter was Captain Sartouri. If ever a man performed his duty on the day of battle, if ever a man covered himself

with glory, it certainly was the brave Dimitri Sartouri.

"In the evening, when the Egyptian fleet had retired, we perceived two of their vessels on fire: but could not conceive how it happened. Though we were successful at sea, our loss on shore was considerable. The minister at war, Anagnostara Papageorge, the brave Colonel Stauro, Shaini of Hydra, General Catzaro, and Zafiropulo, a member of the legislative body, who had come over with the Prince to be enabled to ransom his brother Panajoti Zafiropulo, made prisoner some time before; and two other chiefs, perished in the battle. We had also to deplore the death of a worthy and illustrious Philhellene, the Count of Santa Rosa, who served as a volunteer in the Greek army.

"Having been both an actor and an eye-witness throughout these transactions, I can speak with confidence on the accuracy of the facts I have stated.

(Signed)

"The Private Secretary of Prince Mavrocordato,

ODOUARD GRASSET."

"Napoli di Romania, the 7-19 May, 1825.

Appendix (C.)

THREE LETTERS OF COUNT SANTA ROSA.

LETTER I.

"On board the brig Mars,

"1st. May, 1825.

"My dear Pecchio,—I knew you were inclined to undertake a long voyage, but certainly I never expected you here. My advice would never have called you hither, for I repent bitterly having deviated at forty years of age from my maxim of never serving any other than my own country. I repent, because I feel I am not useful, and I think I never shall become so. It is requisite for a foreigner to possess two things, if he would be of efficient use to Greece—*plenty of money, and great fluency in speaking the language of the country.* In my case the former is impossible, the latter very difficult, and requiring intense application. I must then with resignation endure privations and annoyances; and seek dangers without hoping for a reward, and without the consolation of suffering for a country I love. Such are my thoughts and my condition. I entered

Navarino when the retreat of the Greek army, from the position it occupied on the 19th April, gave room to suppose that Ibrahim would renew his attacks against the city. The contrary has taken place, for the besiegers have ceased their fire. Hardly do they answer to our discharges by a few scattered bomb-shells, nor are ours frequent: on this account we lead a very monotonous life in Navarino. If we continue masters at sea, I think Ibrahim will soon find himself in a difficult situation; but if he should receive supplies of men and ammunition, Navarino will be in danger, because there are not within its walls military stores, nor, I may add, that affection to the cause which would render this interval available for improving the defence of the place. The Governor possesses firmness and courage, and has deserved well of his country.

"From time to time, I pass the morning or the evening on board the Mars: the captain, though of a rough and unpolished exterior, is extremely kind to Collegno and me. It is a fine brig, and we live on board like princes. Such is *not* the case in Nava-

rino; but privations would be even dear and welcome, if we led there a life of military activity. The letters from Nottingham have consoled and affected me. What true and precious friends are the English!

"Adieu, my dear Pecchio. May your arrival be a happy omen for Greece! The 60,000 frs. you bring with you will be of great advantage if laid out judiciously. No time must be lost in this campaign. The winter must be employed in military preparations, and the year of 1826 will be the year of triumph; the following ones will have internal order for their object. God grant that discord, and the indiscreet ambition of so many insignificant men, may not frustrate these my ardent hopes and desires. I perceive important interests connected with the prosperous result of this struggle, which therefore fills my mind with anxiety; and on this account I am the more grieved to be almost a useless spectator of the contest. Continue your regard for me, and write to me as often as possible.

"Your very affectionate friend,

"SANTORRE SANTA ROSA."

LETTER II.

Letter of the Count di Santa Rosa to Signor Pecchio, dated 5th April, which was not received by Signor Pecchio till he arrived in London from Greece.

"Napoli di Romania,
"5th April, 1825.

"My dear Pecchio,—I know not whether my letter will find you in London, or still at Nottingham. If you are resident at Nottingham, you will agree with me that that abode is a bed of roses, and that I have changed it for a couch of thorns! I often think of Nottingham with delight, and affectionate emotions of the heart, inasmuch as I have left there friends whom I never could forget, were I to live to the age of an antediluvian patriarch.

"We are likely to have a serious campaign here. I am about to take a part in it myself, as a volunteer; and, wishing to please those who have a right to exact from me such an act of courtesy, shall call myself Count Derossi; although the precaution, sup-

posing it necessary, may be too late. I am compelled thus to disguise myself, to do good to an unfortunate people.

"The Egyptians are organized. I hope that the accursed *Mehemet* may not (like Carnot) have organized matters for a victory, notwithstanding that he is aided in his undertaking by many European officers—Frenchmen as well as Italians—miserable wretches! whom I cannot but curse, as well as those by whom they are paid, and overpaid, to secure them in attachment to their cause.

"The Greeks are not organized, as far as relates to the land warfare—a circumstance which will doubtless involve them in difficulties; but, at sea, nothing is to be apprehended. These Greeks are good and brave, my dear Pecchio; and how to civilize their nation without corrupting it, is the only problem to be solved. Some excellent institutions, and such as tend to ameliorate the whole system, are accomplishing this object. That of the National Guard is one of the most essential, and it shall be my endeavour to prove that it is so. At my

departure, you, who are well acquainted with the world, thought, for a certainty, that my journey hither would be attended with no beneficial result. That opinion, which you could not refrain from forming, having hitherto been verified by facts, I intend to return to happy England after the campaign. Collegno is now at the head-quarters. I set off to-morrow; but am not a person attached to head-quarters, except in the capacity of a military man, because such a life does not please me.

"*Porro* is well liked here, and resigns himself heroically to the deprivations of Greek living. He has no intention of returning to our world. You will, perhaps, accuse me of being loth to put up with hardships: this is by no means the case. But the knowledge that I am enduring toils for no purpose, and the pain of being far from every consolation of the heart, will, eventually, cause me to quit this country. Adieu!

"Your most faithful friend,

"SANTORRE SANTA ROSA."

LETTER III.

" Letter from the Same to the Marquess di Prié.

" Napoli di Romania,

" 3d April, 1823.

" Thou hast, my dear Demetrius, the gift of prophecy; and I fancy I see thee on the sofa when, with the air of a man certain of his assertion, thou didst predict to me the issue of my journey to Greece. But wouldst thou have ever believed, at that time, that Porro would have journeyed to the same place. In truth, when I heard the fact, on my arrival at Naples, I fancied it was a dream. As for myself, I intend to return to England, in order better to endure my present manner of life. I suppose I shall put this plan into effect about November, that is to say at the end of the military campaign.

Carlo,* to whom I have written, will be able to inform you on all points relative to the situation of public affairs. I set off to morrow on my return to Tripolizza; where I shall rejoin Collegno; who, after nearly four months of uncertainty, has been ap-

* The Marquess General San Marzan.

pointed Commandant of Engineers, in the army destined for the siege of Patras. That siege, however, will not take place; and in the course of this year, according to appearances, it will be a matter of necessity to think about defending places more than of taking them. I have great confidence in the Greek navy. The two squadrons are at sea, and well appointed. The officers, crews, and equipments, are all what they ought to be. Courage, ability, and ambition, are prevalent there: and as fortune, in some shape, sides with them, these vile Mussulmen will in all likelihood be well beaten. Thou knowest, my dear Demetrius, that had the Greeks shown me confidence, on my arrival in their country, I might have been of use to them. On my return from Athens, after a sojourn there of two months, I found Mavrocordato installed here in the management of affairs. I went to see him. He politely returned me the visit, and appeared extremely well mannered, and quite an European. As for sincerity, however, I knew his character too well to expect to find him possessed of that quality.

I requested and obtained a letter of service as a *volunteer*, under the name of Count Derossi; in order to conform with certain fancies, be they reasonable or not; and, as I before told thee, I set off to-morrow with a *Palicari*, or servant belonging to the troops, and in company with a *Suliote* captain, a man of fine appearance, who speaks English and Italian.

As to the fair sex—of whom thou hast ever been an elegant adorer—I must tell thee that in Athens I saw some very handsome faces, assisting at a certain solemn marriage; but, in truth, their beauty was materially assisted by a paste, made with consummate art. It is chiefly in our sex that the elegant and shapely forms, for which Greece was so famed, are beheld. I cannot imagine why the Venus di Medici was modelled after a Greek woman. The present race of Greek females have in their appearance much of an oriental character; handsome only in romance—with a few exceptions! But the young men are still possessed of great beauty. I was enchanted with the situation of Athens; but it would add to its charms, were its gay plain peopled with English *cottages*. I have written to Carlo

touching my enthusiasm for the Temples placed on the solitary mountains; and I assure thee, that whoever possesses a taste for the sublime and beautiful, cannot but be impressed with admiration on beholding the ruins of the Temples of Egina and of Sunium: I am almost tempted to say that, of themselves, they repay a journey to Greece. Collegno assured me that the Roman ruins never aroused so lively an enthusiasm in his mind.

* * * * *

And have I not spoken to thee of my children?—I will bring with me their pictures, two or three books, a shirt, and some silk handkerchiefs; nothing more. I shall always, however, retain in my heart the desire of embracing thee.

SANTORRE SANTA ROSA.

APPENDIX (D.)

A short time before, viz. in 1799, Austria had cruelly given up to the Porte the poet Riga, who is considered by the Greeks as the founder of their *Eteria*. This new Tyrteus, a few moments before

he was put to death by the Turks, said, "My death grieves me but little; the seed of liberty is sown, it will one day produce fruit in abundance."

APPENDIX (E.)

NOTE.

I have not inconsiderately called Greece, in page 16, "*The ancient sister of Italy.*" History justifies that epithet. There are not, perhaps, two nations in the world like Greece and Italy, which, in their conduct, have so uniformly caused more good than evil to each other. Not only do the similarities of climate, of the productions of the soil, of the imagination, of the genius, and of the character of the inhabitants, give to these two people, as it were, a family physiognomy; but it may be asserted, that the reciprocal benefits which they have conferred on each other, (with a slight alloy of evil) during the space of two thousand years, are proofs of a species of sympathy and fraternal affection existing between them.

Let us make a brief historical comparison of the good and evil which these two nations have caused to each other, and we shall see that a surplus is in favour of the good.

Ancient Greece, the mother of so many republics, disseminated, by means of her colonies in Sicily and in the south of Italy, (known by the name of Magna Græcia,) the spirit of liberty, the elegance, the good taste, the fine arts; in short, the total civilization of these times. Pythagoras abandoned Samos, his country, to propagate his philosophy in Magna Græcia.

Rome was indebted to Greece (or more probably to Magna Græcia, which amounts to the same thing) for her twelve tables. At a later period, the Greek philosophers and astrologers introduced in Rome the love of philosophy and of learning; and, notwithstanding their banishment from Rome, under Cato and the Censors, in the days of the Emperors, they returned as preceptors to the Roman youth, and lecturers on philosophy. It is true, that the Romans, at last, among their other conquests, likewise subjugated Greece; but the independence and liberty of the

Greek Republic had previously been violated and trodden upon by the Macedonian kings; and the Roman Republic, in its conquest of Greece, displayed at least a semblance of courtesy. Titus Quintus Flaminius, at the Isthmic games in Corinth, proclaimed the liberty of all the cities, by sound of trumpet, and exempted them from every species of contribution; and the Romans subsequently sent their young men to study philosophy and learn the language in Greece. In Athens, an extensive quarter of the city was inhabited by the Romans, and ornamented by them with monuments. Of these, there still exist the Tower of the Winds, the monument of Filopapus, the Temple of Jupiter Olympus, and the Gate of Adrian, all of which are Roman edifices; and, *vice versa*, the greater part of the monuments in Rome were conducted by Greek architects and sculptors, who, as well as the rhetoricians and philosophers, had, under the Emperors, free access to settle in Rome. In short, the spoils of Greece became the ornament of Italy; and even now the immortal works of the Greek chisel adorn

and embellish many of the Italian cities. At last Constantine, conceiving the Bosphorus to be a seat more worthy of the Empire, transporting thither the Metropolis of the world, founded a new empire, and created for Greece a new period of history. By that change of fortune, to which all nations are inevitably exposed, the Romans, who were then masters of Greece, became the subjects of the Greek empire, and saw themselves commanded by the Greek exarchs and lieutenants. But these alternate conquests, before they were accompanied by ruin, sackings, and the ferocious passions of vengeance and avarice, were almost always assuaged by an equanimity of character and an irresistible sympathy; and if the Roman generals protected Greece for a time from the invasions of Mithridates and the Asiatic barbarians, Narses and Belisarius defended Italy, for no less a period, from the irruptions of the northern barbarians. It cannot be denied that, in process of time, when the Crusading Princes usurped and divided the Greek empire, the Venetians were accomplices in that usurpation, and were rewarded for their assist-

ance by a portion of its territory. Nevertheless, total destruction did not ensue from that act of injustice. Even after barbarism, like a thick cloud, had enveloped the whole ancient Roman Empire, Greece still preserved the sacred fire of learning and of the arts. Towards the middle of the thirteenth century the Greeks introduced the art of painting into Pisa, and that of the Mosaic into Venice; or, at all events, the Italians, who then sailed to Greece, acquired these arts from the natives of that country. Greece was the last nation to fall into the abyss of ignorance; nor did she totally sink therein till her conquest by the Turks. Italy, on that event, recalling to mind the old favours she had received from Greece, stretched out her arms and received the exiles of Constantinople.

The Greek philosophers and scholars then brought with them into Italy the Platonic philosophy, and the knowledge of their great historians and poets; and Italy, in return, by a splendid hospitality, caused them to forget the country which they had lost. And, as if these two people, the Greeks and

the Italians, were destined by fate to be united in learning, to participate even in the changes of misfortunes, and to go hand in hand with each other amidst disasters, the Venetians, during two centuries, combated at sea, with glorious success, endeavouring to repel the Turks into Asia; and Greece was well nigh rescued, by Italian blood, from the yoke of the Mussulmen.

This historical sketch, however imperfect, will, I hope, sufficiently justify an epithet which escaped me, not less dictated from the recollection of the past, than from the present feelings of the heart.

JOURNAL

OF A

VISIT TO GREECE,

BY

W. H. HUMPHREYS.

INTRODUCTION.

HOWEVER productive of great events the Greek Revolution may eventually prove, and however attractive in itself, as regarding the regeneration of this renowned people, it has hitherto been conducted by them with such singular want of spirit and activity, that its progress is calculated to damp all enthusiasm in those who have visited, and long remained spectators of, the scene of action; for no one who has ever felt interested in their affairs, can watch their tardy movements, their intrigues and dissensions, without vexation and disappointment; or view their conduct without indignation. This is the natural feeling of a foreigner, enjoying the advantages of the enlightened civilization of the present day. It ought, however, to be remembered, that the Greeks have not been advancing in equal steps with us, but on the contrary have retrograded to a state of semi-bar-

barism, aggravated by a long and protracted slavery. This must be their apology; for I do not see any advantages that can accrue to the Greeks from misrepresentations in their favour: and with that apology, as a veil over their misdeeds, remembering what they once were, and anticipating what they may yet become, they themselves can never fail to excite sympathy, nor their cause cease to inspire interest in enlightened and unprejudiced minds. I shall therefore attempt to sketch faithfully, at least, what I have chiefly witnessed. Several Works have appeared on Greece as far as the commencement of the campaign of 1824, from far abler pens than that of a young soldier, which renders a detailed description of the country, and events up to that period superfluous.

W. H. H.

August 30th, 1825.

JOURNAL,

&c.

CHAPTER. I.

I FIRST visited Greece in 1821, at the time the Greeks in the Morea were laying siege to Tripolizza, and Prince Demetrius Ipsilanti commanded in the light of representative of his brother Alexander. At that time there existed great enthusiasm, felt not only by the enfranchised peasantry, but by their capitani or military chiefs, their clergy and the Franc Greeks, as Constantinopolitans, Smyrniots, and those who had received their education in foreign parts.

The Primates of the country, even at this early period, began to show their fears alike of military ascendancy, and of the power assumed by Demetrius Ipsilanti: for, holding high offices under the Turkish rulers, they had often been the greatest oppressors of the Greeks, and their expectancies were themselves quietly to displace those Turkish rulers from their posts, while their countrymen were to remain in the same state of subjection, with only the consolation of being slaves to Christian, instead of Mahometan oppressors. From the clash of interests arose three distinct parties;—that of the Primates, the military chiefs, and the Frank Greeks, with whom the Islanders rather coalesced; the clergy espousing that party which suited their particular interests.

The Greeks had great hopes of assistance from Russia, who then stood as high in their good graces as England now does, though at that time considered as their greatest enemy.

I was not present at the massacre of Tripolizza; and after remaining two months, being seized with a fever, I left the country with Mr. Gordon, of Cairness, whose munificence in the cause of the Greeks is well known.

In January 1824, I landed at Messolunghi, having taken advantage, through the interest of Mr. Gordon, of a vessel coming out from the London Greek Committe, with a fire worker and artificers on board, destined for the establishment of an arsenal in Greece, and laden with military stores. At Messolunghi was Lord Byron, and there consequently was the point of attraction for all foreigners. His Lordship had remained some time in Cephalonia, corresponding with the principal Greeks, and had determined on joining Alexander Mavrocordato,* who possessed at this time an un-

* Every Englishman who arrived in Greece was greatly prepossessed in favour of Mavrocordato, and we all at

merited reputation in other countries, facilitated by his knowledge of Europe, great tact in letter-writing and indefatigable correspondence; though he well merits celebrity, if duplicity, intriguing talents, and total want of all rectitude and principle, be sufficient claims on notice. He might be considered at the head of the party of the Franc Greeks. Colocotroni and other military chiefs were held not only as rebels and enemies to all order and established government, but at Messolunghi their fidelity to their country's cause was questioned. Zaimi and Andreas Londo, two powerful primates, and closely allied, took the lead in the primate interest, which was favoured by the existing Government, of which Conduriotti, an Hydriot, was president, and was also supported by all the liberated Greek Islands of the Archipelago.

first thought him a princely fellow as well as a Prince: but he is neither the one nor the other. His having no hereditary pretensions to the title is mentioned in a Work entitled, "Essaie sur les Fanariotes."

The Honourable Colonel Leicester Stanhope was, conjointly with Lord Byron, representative and agent of the London Committee; and though unsupported by a single individual, was devoted to the establishment of a free press and the publication of newspapers, which were calculated to be of great benefit, though it was argued against them that the state of the country was not sufficiently advanced, or the minds of the people enough enlightened. But so well do they suit the taste and genius of the Greeks, who retain all the love of news, sensibility to satire, and fondness for political discussion, which characterized them of old, that they are the most likely means of exciting the minds of the people, and of operating as a check on the conduct of their leading men, were it possible for those of the present generation to be reclaimed.

Lord Byron, unfortunately, was not accompanied by any person of military knowledge or talent; and, for the most part, only a hungry

shoal of useless adventurers, of divers nations, had flocked round him.

The English artificers were soon driven away by an unlucky disturbance with the Suliotes: the chief director, a man of the name of Parry, and two useful and well-informed men, Mr. Hodges and Mr. Gill, alone remaining. Parry unfortunately proved to be a blustering worthless character, who had found no great difficulty in imposing on the Committee in London, and had come out with strong recommendations to Lord Byron, who entrusted all his operations to him; which effectually put a stop to the chance of his being able to commence any enterprize whatever, and the badly conducted expedition of the Committeee was rendered a useless expenditure.

Mavrocordato's attention seemed chiefly divided between his fear of losing Lord Byron, and his desire to get rid of the Suliotes, whom his Lordship had in pay, and to whom Mavro-

cordato owed considerable arrears for past services.

Lord Byron, fully sensible of the conspicuous situation in which he was placed, was eager for immediate action. An expedition against Lepanto had been for some time contemplated; but owing to the want of command over the troops, and the want of energy or inclination in Mavrocordato, who considered that the Suliotes, if established at Lepanto, would be too near neighbours, and that Lord Byron once out of Messolunghi might not return, added to the total want of conduct, nothing was attempted.

In February I left Messolunghi, in company with Colonel Stanhope, for Athens, where the wily and powerful military chieftain Ulysses commanded. Here the scene was changed: at Messolunghi, where there was no immediate want of money, the chief sinew, though not the only requisite in war, every thing went on feebly and tardily, notwithstanding the presence of

Lord Byron, who, in the state of affairs at that time, had great weight on the minds of the people; for they considered his riches as inexhaustible, and formed the most extravagant expectations of the advantages of his assistance. In Athens, affairs were carried on with vigour: a good police was established, and great activity prevailed. On the second day of our arrival we witnessed an assembly of the people, for the purpose of choosing judges by ballot: a stone circle under an old tree served for the forum, from which the people were addressed. The debates were very animated and quite characteristic of the ancient Athenians. It was an interesting sight to behold an assembly of Greeks, and hear speeches delivered on the same spot so renowned for its orators in days of old.

Ulysses held himself aloof from the dissensions existing in the Morea. He had entered the province of Eastern Greece from the Ionian Islands, after leaving Ali Pacha, at whose

court he was brought up; and by his policy, activity, knowledge of the country, and of the enemy he opposed, had established himself in command of Eastern Greece. His father, Andritza, a renowned kleftis chieftain, had been governor of the province of Livadia: he was beheaded or bow-strung at Constantinople; and, by the Turks, Ulysses was generally called the son of Andritza. When he was declared a rebel by the Government, the two captains who were sent to displace him in his command were killed. He had, in the commencement of the revolution, formed an alliance to co-operate with Colocotroni, and it was stipulated that neither should take any step of importance without first communicating their intentions to each other. When it was proposed to elect the Russian minister, Capo d'Istria, King of Greece, Colocotroni gave his assent to the offer being made, without informing Ulysses, which broke off the understanding between

them. The great talents of this chieftain were tarnished by some shades of a vindictive and suspicious disposition; nor was he wholly free from avarice, though he well knew how to reward munificently at times. But, bred as he was in the court of Ali Pacha, the wonder is not that Ulysses should have vices, but that he should possess any good qualities. In him the peasantry ever found protection. Under the other captains the soldiery behaved with unchecked licence, and plundered without restraint; under Ulysses they were restricted from pillage, and the necessary supplies for the troops were levied with order and regularity. Among the primates and the rich he was unpopular, because with him the burden of the war fell without distinction on the rich, as well as on the poor;—a thing quite contrary to established custom. His proceeding of provisioning the fortress of Athens, the only one that was provisioned in all Greece, gave great dissatisfaction; but it was justified by the exigence of the

case. He caused an alarm to be spread that the Turks were advancing, and ordered the inhabitants to bring their stores to the fortress, and then retained a portion of each, sufficient for its defence. With what resources could be casually collected from a devastated province, subject to the constant inroads of the enemy, he gained possession of the Island of Negropont, with the exception of the fortress of that name, and Carysto, and gave sufficient proof of his great talent for command by the dread he was held in by the Turks, and the obedience he enforced among his undisciplined and unpaid soldiery. Constantly in the field, he was distinguished from his meanest soldier only by his striking personal appearance.* The state of the country

* If, as Lord Byron affirms, a fine hand is a mark of true nobility, Ulysses was truly noble. He had the most beautiful hand, for a man, I ever remarked. He was very tall. His sun-burnt face and breast, rude attire, immense bushy moustache, and bent brow, to be matched only by that of a "Redgauntlet," made him

demanded a vigorous sway in the guidance of affairs; and such men were indispensably requisite. He had appointed General Goura governor of the fortress of Athens, formerly a bravo under him in the service of Ali Pacha; a man of great personal bravery, rapacious, cruel, and devoid of talent; but who, notwithstanding, has been since destined to rise on his patron's fall. The advantage of gaining entire possession of Negropont, and the necessity of defending the country within the passes of Thermopylæ, which

a fine characteristic picture of a mountain chieftain. He was remarkable for his activity and swiftness of foot, and was an excellent horseman. He had all the tastes of a gentleman; and was fond of shooting, horses, and dogs, which few of the Greeks are. His manners were remarkably graceful. In conversation, his expressions in Italian, of which he only knew a few words, were indicative of his forcible mind. His language, in his own tongue, was very elegant. He seemed to possess the perfect military *coup d'œil*, which was observable in the spots he fixed on for halting at night, and in always pointing out, as we passed, the advantageous positions which the country presented.

would then form a well-drawn line of demarcation for defence on the eastern flank of the liberated possessions of the Greeks in Roumelia, and which charge devolved wholly on Ulysses, made it highly important to render that chief every possible assistance.

I had left Messolunghi under a conviction of the improbability of any effective expedition being formed against Lepanto or Patras; and, except to operate against these two places, Messolunghi was in no way calculated as a point from which to direct offensive operations; it being closely surrounded by precipitous mountains, intersected by rivers. The whole tract of country towards Arta was likewise entirely laid waste; and an expedition so distant as on Arta, or beyond, with the present ineffectual means and resources, did not afford the slightest chance of success, or any prospect of advantage. While Athens had the advantage of a central position, it was very desirable to prevail on Lord Byron to come there. A friend

of his Lordship, Mr. Trelawney, had lately made a tour of observation in Greece, and had fixed on Athens and its chieftain as affording the most interesting field for action. Ulysses had the greatest friendship for Mr. Trelawney; he was also particularly partial to the English, and, like Mavrocordato, aware of the advantages of such conduct in the existing state of the country, gave the utmost encouragement in his power to all foreigners.

The aspect of the Morea at this time afforded no prospect to the termination of their unfortunate dissensions and want of union. The ex-president of the executive body, Mavromichalis, Bey of Maina, Degliani, and others, supported by the Colocotronists, pretended still to form the existing Government at Tripolizza. The fortress of Napoli di Romania was held by Captain Pauno, Colocotroni's eldest son. Tripolizza was itself blockaded by Government troops. Andreas Londo had left the blockade of Patras, to

march with other captains against Colocotroni, Coliopulo, and Niketas. Sessini, governor of the rich province of Gastouni, possessed of great activity and talent, professed neutrality, but inclined to the party of the rebels—though only that party which proved successful could rely on his support. The Mainotes were divided, Mugino, a powerful Mainote chief, being at enmity with the Bey. The seat of Government was at Argos, where the legislative body held its sittings. The executive remained on board an Hydriot brig, laying at the Mulos, off Napoli.

In this situation of the Morea, the ex-secretary of state, Theodore Negris, proposed the assembly of the authorities of Eastern and Western Greece at Salona, to deliberate on the best means of promoting tranquillity in the Morea, and union in all parts of the State.

Negris was now reconciled to Ulysses, whom he had before warmly opposed; great animosity having arisen between them, chiefly through

the medium of a forged correspondence. When disgraced in the Morea, he went to him, offered his services, which were as frankly accepted, and remained with Ulysses as his adviser and counsellor. Negris, like Mavrocordato, a Fanariot, and, almost as a natural consequence,* like Mavrocordato, addicted to intrigue, possessed great talents. He had, conjointly with Mavrocordato, drawn up the constitution of Greece. The greatest enmity subsisted between these two rival diplomatists. Mavrocordato had the advantage of a knowledge of civilized Europe, and perhaps owed not a little of his greater celebrity to his assumed title of Prince. Negris, too, possessed less duplicity, more hardihood; and good faith, and pursued with ardour whatever course he adopted; but which, in the incessant change of

* "Essaie sur les Fanariotes," published by a Greek at Paris. He gives an excellent account of them, but mistakes the character of Mavrocordato, and, at the time he wrote, knew nothing of affairs in Greece.

parties and interests, made him more enemies and less popular.

It was not probable Mavrocordato would willingly accede to any measure originating with Negris, but the Western authorities were to be invited, and, at the wish of Ulysses, I returned to Messolunghi, to request Lord Byron and Mavrocordato's attendance; to which they assented, and the beginning of April was fixed for assembling at Salona.* Lord Byron had dismissed his Suliotes, and little was doing at Messolunghi. The Suliotes are individually brave, but when collected are an unruly and unmanageable body. In April we first heard of

* Lord Byron and Mavrocordato were alone when I communicated my mission: his Lordship instantly complied. Mavrocordato declined an immediate answer, and alluding to a foolish affair that had lately happened at Athens, with an English sloop of war, and which the ignorant soldiery of Ulysses construed into an attempt to carry him off, hinted the possibility of Ulysses intending to retaliate the supposed treachery on Lord Byron.

the Loan of 800,000*l.* having been effected in England, which opportunely raised the spirits of the people, alarmed as they were at the formidable preparations of the Pacha of Egypt.

Lord Byron's arrival at Salona was retarded, till death put an end to his short career in Greece: an event deservedly causing universal sorrow. Had his impatient spirit found an immediate field for active exertion, it is most probable his career would not so quickly have terminated; and if any persons, to suit their own private interest, threw obstacles in his way, and detained him in inactivity, they may be considered instrumental to this public calamity, accelerated as it was by the vexatious and troubled state of his situation. The authorities of Eastern Greece had already assembled. Ulysses had returned from Negropont, where, as no money could be raised, the Greek troops disbanded in great numbers, and the Turks had occupied the Island in large force: they were

also mustering strong in Larissa and Zeitouni, and directing their movements towards Salona. Ulysses had drawn out an excellent plan for the operations of the ensuing campaign, and was, perhaps, the only man in Greece possessing military skill enough to do so, and talent sufficient to put them in execution; but by temporising measures, and wavering resolves, the members of the Government afterwards sacrificed the advantages, that might have been derived from his services, to their jealousy and distrustful policy.

In the beginning of May, deputies arrived at Salona from Messolunghi, and the assembly passed over, its principal result being the declaration of the two provinces in favour of the legitimacy of the Government at Argos. Col. Stanhope had previously left Salona for Zante; I had accompained him, and we arrived there on the 12th of May.

CHAPTER II.

A SUM of 40,000*l.* of the Loan had arrived at Zante with Mr. Blaquiere, consigned to Count Logotheti and Mr. Barff, the principal English merchant of Zante. The conditions specified were, that the joint consent of the three named Commissioners should be required previous to any disbursement of the Loan taking place. The three Commissioners named were, Lazzaro Conduriotti, a brother of the president; Lord Byron; and Mr. Gordon, of Cairness; and in the event of his not arriving, the Hon. Col. Stanhope was to act as his substitute. The Contractors had not provided for any event that might take place to invalidate these conditions, and the death of Lord Byron put a stop to all imme-

diate proceedings; as, according to the letter of the instructions, the money must remain untouched, until such period as another Commissioner was appointed, or measures taken to authorize those remaining to act. The contract had been forwarded to the Greek Government nearly a month before, and no answer had yet arrived.

One universal cry was heard from every Greek in power,—we only want money. This talisman was instantaneously to dispel all dissension, stifle every discontent, introduce order in every branch of administration, provide every necessary, establish hospitals, provision their fortresses, equip their fleet, and rectify every abuse.

But no intelligence had yet reached Zante of the intentions of the Greek Government, in ratifying the contract, or in sending deputies to communicate with the Commissioners; and I proceeded to Argos. Col. Stanhope being officially

recalled, sailed for England in the Florida, bearing the last remains of the lamented Byron. On the 25th of May, on landing in the Morea, the golden accounts we had heard at Zante all disappeared, for letters and reports had been fabricated of the favourable turn of affairs in the hope of facilitating the delivery of the Loan. Colocotroni was blockading Tripolizza, Coliopulo, Niketas, and Gennaò Colocotroni, his second son, had attacked the Government at Argos, and, though repulsed, had relieved Napoli di Romania. These attacks and engagements are not accompanied with much bloodshed; at the most, the loss of three or four lives, though so disastrous to the country, and retarding all improvement.

I determined to see Colocotroni, and know from himself what were his views. I found the fine old chieftain quartered in a small village near Tripolizza: his hut was but partly roofed in, had no boarded floor, and one slip

of carpet, which the poorest hamlet in Greece is seldom without, was its only furniture. He welcomed me with great warmth. He declared himself most anxious for union, but that the existing Government, under the influence of Mavrocordato, and the faction of the Primates, sought his total ruin. He said, "Let me be judged by my country, and if found guilty, let death be my punishment; but not by a faction, who seek my destruction, and that of all the ancient captains. We, who alone have ever been free; we, who alone in the hour of danger were not found wanting; after clearing our country of her invaders by our swords, when those who would lord it over all of us sought safety in flight, and only return to enjoy the security we have purchased with our blood; are they to be our sole rulers?—are they alone to have a voice and a will in the land we have won and kept with our swords? are Fanariots from the Turkish courts, are adventurers, without a

name, to root out of its soil its ancient preservers?" There was some truth in his appeal. Colocotroni is eloquent, and to that owes much of his influence over the soldiery. The only terms on which the Government would treat with him, were his going to them with an escort of not more than fifty followers; which he considered equal to a surrender of his liberty, or his life. The leading trait in Colocotroni's character is avarice; a vice from which few of the Grecks are exempt, and to which he justly owed his loss of power. As an able General he possessed, and deservedly, the confidence of the soldiery and people.* He was allied by marriage to the Deglianis, a powerful family; to Coliopulo and Niketas, both distinguished Captains; his ne-

* Colocotroni is of that opinion himself. In a conversation at Prince Demetrius Ipsilanti's, he remarked, the Duke of Wellington is decidedly the first General of the age, but he thought that if his Grace had, like himself, to do the duty at once of Commissary, Soldier, and General, he would not do it so well.

phews and sons held high commands in different provinces, and thus the Colocotronists, as they are designated, formed a formidable and powerful clan, and with them the Bey of Maina was in close alliance. He complained that the present Government had deposed members elected at the General Congress of the nation, and replaced them with those of their own party and interests, without the election of the people; and that they had given the rank of General to the most undeserving persons, and to their own servants as a reward for having deserted them. A Bulgarian, Hadgj Christo, the chief Government General, had been a *cheise*, or head groom to Colocotroni, though it was acknowledged that he owed his rise to his distinguished bravery and good conduct; but a former pipe-bearer of Niketas, then a General, had little other merit than his having deserted his master. He said, that the majority of the people of the Morea were in their favour; but

that the Government was averse to any amicable adjustment, and was supported by foreigners, to whom they held out the prospect of large pay from the English Loan; as Bulgarians, Albanians, and many of the Roumeliots, who having no longer a home, formed themselves in small bodies as soldiers, electing a Captain, and were ready to enter any body's service who would best pay them: and that the views of his party were misrepresented, as their adversaries, having the advantage of education, employed the power of the pen against them, while they only knew the use of arms.* The term of anti-patriots, given to his party in the Gazettes, he bitterly complained of; saying that it was a gross injustice, that he, and Niketas too, so distinguished alike for his generosity and great personal bravery in defence of his country, should be now called anti-patriots. He, said he, was accused of an intention

* Many of the principal Chiefs of the country cannot even sign their name.

to make himself King of Greece. He asked me, if his hut and retinue bore the semblance of Royalty. I found that at night, attended only by one or two trusty followers, he took different positions in the mountains, where he slept to avoid treachery. They demanded but to have one representative of their party in the executive body, and the Bey of Maina to have the command of the troops in the Morea, and they would immediately surrender Napoli di Romania, and submit to the orders of the Government.

The advantage of possessing Napoli at this juncture being so great, it seemed an ill-judged pertinacity in the heads of the Government to refuse these conditions. Conduriotti had said to Ulysses, when proposing a mediation—"They or we shall perish." The Colocotronists, after repulsing the formidable expedition of Courschid Pacha in 1822, had, indeed, presumed too much on their services, and expected to assume the same pre-eminence in civil administration,

though inadequate, as they held, in military power. But as some time had elapsed in comparative security, it had given an opportunity to the Frank Greeks, men of more education and diplomatic knowledge, to gain weight in affairs, while the power of the military chiefs decreased in proportion; and they no longer offered, as before, so dangerous an opposition to order and good government, in which they began to perceive their own interests also consisted, rather than in temporary extortions, and the uncertain spoils of war: yet they still possessed far too much influence in the country, to be entirely overthrown, without causing a commotion that would be violently felt throughout its whole system. The Frank Greeks, on their side, despising the native chiefs, and priding themselves on the advantages of a polished education, kept no bounds to their pretensions. The Government was composed of the Island interests and the Frank Greeks; and was at

their direction: with them the primates had coalesced, though the good understanding between them was not of long duration.

On leaving Colocotroni I entered Tripolizza, where the Archimandrite Pappa Flescia, a bold and intriguing priest, minister of the interior, Andreas Londos, and Zaimi commanded. Prince Demetrius Ipsilanti was leading a retired life, a spectator of the dissensions around him, which he had not the power to quell. Ipsilanti, though considered deficient in energy, possesses tried personal courage, great judgment and discrimination of character, a sincere patriotism, disinterestedness and integrity, little common in Greece; and, though by descent a Fanariot, is not addicted to intrigue. His predilections appear Russian, in which country he was brought up; but, I believe, no Greek has the welfare of his country more sincerely at heart. His shyness is much to his disadvantage in his intercourse with strangers, but to his intimates he

shows an amiable character; and, I have observed, the officers and dependants of his suite have never left him in his retirement.

On arriving at Argos, I held my audience with the Grecian Senate—the legislative body: it is composed of sixty-two members, elected annually by the people, and has a president and vice-president. Mavrocordato had been nominated president; but now holding the command of Western Greece, the vice-president officiated in his stead. The members were sitting on the floor of a little room, one of the few that remained in the dilapidated city of Argos: they did not rise to speak, nor did they deliver their sentiments in any rotation, which occasioned great confusion. When it became too violent, the vice-president rang his bell, as a call to order, but often only added, by that means, to the din. I then went to the executive body, lying on board the gallant and patriotic Miaulis' brig, and explained the circumstances of the Loan;

and the only chance of obtaining the money immediately, by offering such security to the consignees, as would ensure them from incurring any personal risk by delivering the money, contrary to the letter of their instructions. Though bent on getting possession of the money, they seemed very averse to acknowledging the power invested in the three Commissioners; and hinted that their deputies in England had exceeded their powers in making these conditions. Indeed, making the Commissioners sole arbiters in the disbursement of the Loan, was placing the entire arbitration of affairs in their hands; and, as two of this triumvirate were foreigners, though English and Philhellenes, it by no means reconciled them to such dereliction of their power; nor was it to be expected, however more beneficial the arrangement might have proved to their unhappy country. To the instructions from Colonel Stanhope, they replied, "they had sent deputies to Zante, authorized to

make every necessary arrangement." It was anciently remarked at the theatre at Athens—"The Athenians know what is right, but the Lacedæmonians practise it." The moderns still, indeed, retain the attribute of the Athenians, but that given to the Lacedæmonians belongs only to former years. Ulysses, now deputy of Livadia, was at Argos; he arrived the day Coliopulo and Niketas attacked the town, and immediately offered his mediation; of which the surrender of Napoli to the Government, was soon afterwards the result. They seemed much puzzled to determine what course to pursue with him; Coletti, as he saw Ulysses paid so much attention to the English, requested me to use my influence with him to support the Government, which, I assured him, was his purposed and determined intention. The president of the executive body, Conduriotti, of one of the richest families of Hydra, is a man of very limited talent, and very uninformed; good intentioned,

but completely at the direction of those around him.* The vice-president, Botazi, a Spezziote, bore an excellent character. Coletti was the chief director of affairs; he had been physician to Ali Pacha, and was an implacable enemy to Ulysses. A post in the executive, vacated by the death of one of the Londos family, had been offered to Zaimi, but was rejected by him.

Rhodios, the secretary of state, was placed there by accident. Conduriotti, on his being elected President, took him as his private secretary, the usual appendage of every Greek of any consequence, and not knowing who to fix upon, Rhodios was placed provisionally. On returning through Tripolizza to Zante, on the 5th of May, Zaimi and Londos marched to take possession of Napoli, surren-

* Since Mavrocordato has been secretary of state, the Greeks say, of Conduriotti, "If you ask the President a question, he looks to the right, if Mavrocordato is sitting on that side; and to the left, if he is sitting on the other."

dered by Colocotroni, and a general armistice between the parties was concluded. I found at Zante the Greek Deputies Xeno and Kalergi, who, with Kalergi's two brothers, Greeks of family and fortune, devote their means and talents with great zeal in the cause of their country. Though security had been offered, the consignees did not consider themselves authorized to advance the Loan. The chief urgency was for the fleet; as the islanders, having no support for their families, refused to put to sea till they had received their pay for three months in advance. The Constantinopolitan fleet had left the Dardanelles; it was desirable to prevent its junction with the Egyptian; and every exertion would be necessary to oppose Mahomet Ali's threatening preparations.

The most earnest and pressing solicitations for money arrived at Zante from Messolunghi, and on the part of Mavrocordato; who, since the death of Lord Byron, found himself in a most

embarrassed situation; for the Suliotes now collected and united, demanded the fulfilment of his former promises to them for past services. The overbearing Suliotes were detested by the Messolunghiots; who, having got them once out of their town, had shut their gates against them. They then quartered themselves on the neighbouring town of Anatolia, which they refused to leave till they were paid, and threatened a general pillage, and Mavrocordato's life, if their demands were not speedily complied with. In this emergency, Mr. Blaquiere sent over 6000 dollars to Mavrocordato, on his own responsibility. Mavrocordato, then paid the Suliotes 8000 dollars, half their claims, on condition of their leaving his province.

Great complaints were made of Mavrocordato's stewardship. A Swiss of the name of Meyer, editor of the Messolunghi Gazette, had been censured for expressing his opinion too freely, and desired to desist, or to cease writing;

but a salary of seventy dollars a month from Mavrocordato, produced an effectual change in his sentiments, and he became the future echo of those of his patron.

After remaining at Zante till the 24th of June, we received an order to quit the Island in twenty-four hours. An absurd proclamation had been published and signed by Mavrocordato at Messolunghi, fixing on two neutral ports, Zante and Cerigo, for the future depôts of the Loan. The deputies had arrived, in a Greek vessel hoisting man-of-war's colours, in the port; and the Ionian Powers could not, without a breach of authority, extend any further indulgence.

CHAPTER III.

THE state of Greece did not afford very sanguine hopes for the ensuing campaign. Instead of preparations, the winter had been devoted, in the Morea, to civil war, and in the western part of Roumelia, to petty intrigue and dissensions among the chiefs; which was also the case in the nearest Turkish provinces in that quarter. In Eastern Greece alone offensive operations had been directed against Negropont.

In Roumelia, the inhabitants had been severe sufferers. Many of their towns and villages had been completely destroyed, and their lands laid waste by the enemy; and the little subsistence left them, was constantly subject to heavy contributions from passing troops.

In the Morea, they were much more opulent and secure. Each village has a Protos (resembling a *maire du village* in France), and the priests have a certain authority. There are numerous convents, some of them possessing considerable lands. The largest and richest is Megaspiglia, near Calabrita, where there are 300 monks. It is a spacious edifice, beautifully situated, and built against the side of a precipitous rock. The religion of the lower orders consists in forms, and strict observances of long and frequent fasts; the higher orders have none at all. The knowledge of reading and writing is not very general among them; but schools are now fast establishing in the principal towns. The facility with which the children acquire these attainments, and the observation and knowledge displayed by those who have had the advantages of a foreign education, argue every thing in favour of the Greeks' rapid advancement in civilization; and also improvement

in character, should circumstances allow active philanthropists like Lord Guilford and Colonel Stanhope, to devote to them their attention.

The Moreots, inhabitants of the Morea, bear visibly the marks of the greater slavery in which they have lived. They are inhospitable, untractable, stubborn, and cowardly; they are insensible to kindness, to which they are no way accustomed. In their mode of living they are generally temperate, but also penurious and dirty; and those among them who have property make little better appearance than their neighbours; policy obliging them, under the Turkish yoke, to conceal every appearance of wealth. Dishonest in their dealings, their natural acuteness and intelligence of disposition are exercised only to deceive. The necessaries of life are very reasonable in Greece. The peasantry have numerous flocks of sheep and goats, from which they make their butter and cheese. Their

oxen are only used for labour. They grow and manufacture great quantities of silk, hemp and flax. The women are very industrious, and endure most laborious work. The generality of the lower orders are excessively ugly; but in Greece there are still some forms of Grecian grace, and countenances exquisitely beautiful.*

The general feature of the country is barren, rocky mountain, but intersected with wood, vineyards, and numerous and fertile valleys, forming some fine romantic scenery. The paths, for there are no roads, are execrable; being rugged, stony, and precipitous, and, in the winter, intersected with mountain torrents. Mules, and a country breed of small sure-footed horses, serve

* The far-famed heroine, Bobolina, though the reverse of beautiful or interesting, has met an untimely end, being shot by her countrymen, in one of the tumults that so frequently occur in the Island of Spezzia. The Costancia, celebrated by Mr. Blaquiere, still retains her martial costume, and behaved very gallantly on the approach of the Turks on Gastouni. August 25th, 1825.

for the means of transport. Caravans of these laden with merchandize; the shepherd tending his flock by the way-side; a captain well-mounted, his standard borne before him, and followed by his bandit-looking soldiers; with sometimes a whole emigrating village, are the chief objects to be met with in journeying through Greece; but though the state of the country affords so little protection and restraint, travellers are seldom molested, and robbery rarely occurs. The villages are usually situated on high mountains, out of the road-side; and as the trouble of the ascent is seldom repaid by the accommodation they afford, bivouacking is far preferable when travelling with an escort. I therefore, generally chose a cool fountain or shaded stream, where we could light a fire, and kill and roast a sheep; and that, sometimes, after the fashion of the land, foraged by my men. We drank wine from a goat's skin, at our repast; and in the same manner I slept, wrapt in my shaggy capote,

surrounded by my men, with our horses grazing by our side.

The towns are indifferently built, chiefly of wood; the streets narrow, and badly paved. The inhabitants of the towns are fond of dress, and fête-days: the men assemble at the coffee-houses, smoke and converse, or often hold a noisy feast. The women are less strictly confined than the Turkish women are, though like them their chief diversion is frequenting the bath. The dress of the wealthy is very costly, but not particularly becoming; they visit each other at their houses, and entertain their guests with sweetmeats and coffee. None of them possess the least education; but, while sipping the favourite Eastern beverage, they can talk scandal with as much *goût* as our northern tea-parties have the credit of doing. They have nothing, however, resembling *ce qu'on dit Société*; and their rude attempts at music, and their singing, are quite barbarous.

There are no public amusements. "Greece is no land of social mirth." Field sports are lost to it. There are excellent shooting and coursing; but I have never met any Greeks, except Ulysses and Sessini's sons, who took any pleasure in those diversions.

The Morea possesses many rich and extensive plains, where the currant grape was formerly much grown, though they are at present chiefly laying waste; but the valleys among the mountains are well cultivated, and produce abundance of grain. Copper mines are slightly worked near Calabrita, and stratas of silver have been discovered. The climate of the Morea is very unwholesome. The plain of Livadia, in Roumelia, is exceedingly fertile and extensive: rice was grown there, but it is now a waste. Roumelia is still more mountainous than the Morea; and the climate more wholesome; though in the winter the cold is severe. Its inhabitants are more hospitable, less cunning,

and less cowardly, in proportion as they have been more free. They bore arms under the Turks, which was not generally the case in the Morea, and are superior in their personal appearance.

The Islanders are the finest people. Under the Turks they were treated with great privileges, and were left to their own government, on paying an annual tribute, and furnishing a complement of sailors to the Porte. They are proud, and their seamen are expert, hardy, and active, but turbulent and cruel. Hydra and Ipsara are well fortified, and, with Spezzia, furnish the Greek navy. Many of the Islanders, particularly the Hydriot, as the family of the Conduriotti, Buduris, Miaulis, and the Tombazi, possess large fortunes, and have made great sacrifices in the common cause; their commerce being now entirely neglected for war. The Greeks have no frigates; only three ships; and their whole number of armed brigs amounts to no more than forty. Neither had they any regular troops: an artillery corps, commenced

by Lord Byron, at Messolunghi, being the only attempt to form any since the disastrous battle of Peta, lost by the combined cowardice and treachery of the Greeks, to which so many gallant officers were sacrificed. The numerous capitani, or military chiefs, usually possessed a small district or town; and inferior captains of bands of thirty or forty men, in proportion as these chiefs were more or less powerful, gathered round them. The soldiers are not under much command; but, in outward show, great deference is shown by them to their captains, though living together on familiar terms. They are faithful to those whom they acknowledge as their chieftains, but they are constantly changing from one captain to another, on the most trifling subject for discontent. They are very regularly paid, at the rate of twenty-five piastres a month and rations. A capote, which they almost constantly carry with them, serves for their bed in town or camp. Their arms are, a gun, long in the barrel, and with a very short

stock; with one or two pistols, and a sabre or an ataghan in their girdle, often mounted in silver. The arms of the captains are generally silver, gold gilt and curiously worked; their dress, with belted waist and "kirtled to the knee," has a gay appearance, but there is no uniformity in it; and the *snowy* camise is not often seen among them. When good, however, the dress is very martial and becoming: the turban is partially worn, chiefly by the Bulgarians, who are brave, but much addicted to drinking and quarrelling. The Moreots are the worst soldiers; but those who inhabit the country of the ancient Spartans are less cowardly than the rest; and, as accomplished thieves, are not in the least degenerated from their ancestors. The Roumeliots are the best; they bear cheerfully the greatest privations, and, as is justly observed by Lord Byron, "on foot are not to be subdued by fatigue." No discipline exists among them. The only officer under a

captain is a *chiaus*, or sort of quarter-master, for the dispensation of provisions. Of the brave Suliotes few are remaining, and those are not much interested in the contest; but, like hireling troops, get all they can, and fight as little as they can help; nor are they singular, for the Greeks are all averse to hard fighting. Marco Botzari, however, the bravest and best character the revolution has yet produced, was worthy of Greece's best days, consequently an exception. His gallant attack at night, on the Turkish camp, was considered by the other captains as a rash and foolish exploit. These irregulars are not to be induced to storm any works of defence: they say, "We are not engineers, and do not understand fighting against stone walls." But the fact is, that few of them possess the necessary courage for an assault. Their manner of engaging, like that of the Turks, is desultory; and, as the Greeks rarely attack, confined to the mountains. They have a

horror of cavalry. A single Delhi, "with his cap of terror on," will strike a panic among a large body; and as the Turkish troops are never without, they will not enter a plain or open country in presence of the enemy. They are fond (particularly the Suliotes) of entrenching themselves behind stone walls, which they pile up, making loop-holes at the head of some pass or mountain-top; these they call tambours, and show great judgment in their disposition of them, according to the feature of the ground, (though they have no idea of a flank fire,) and they will then defend their post with great firmness; but otherwise, in an engagement, when one party shows a determination to advance, the other retreats, and *vice versâ*. Their intelligence and acuteness particularly fit them for all the stratagems *de la petite guerre*, as they possess a natural genius for espionnage; and the mountainous feature of the whole of Liberated Greece admits of no other operations than in a

war of posts. The Albanians and Roumeliots are good marksmen, and, supported by regulars, would make excellent light troops: unencumbered with baggage or artillery, a large force will continue marches through the rocky and mountainous paths, for days together, of 25 and 30 miles; quartering themselves on the villagers, killing their sheep and pressing their horses and mules. But though they will occasionally make these marches, they pass the greater part of their time in sleep, stationary in some village, or encamped behind their tambours; and usually spend the winter months in towns. The Greeks can seldom collect a disposable force of above 6000 men at the utmost; though every able man in town and country, and of every occupation, bears arms. "In the East all arm," including the priests of the lower orders, who mingle without distinction with the soldiers; but they will only assemble to defend their own immediate district, regardless of their neighbours, and un-

mindful that the safety of each, separately, can but be ensured by the mutual and united support of the whole. There is, indeed, little difference between the peasant and the soldier; and the former, in defence of his town or village, and fighting, *pro aris et focis*, makes, perhaps, the best soldier of the two. The population of the Morea is about 600,000; that of the principal Islands, Hydra, Ipsara, and Spezzia, 60,000; and of their remaining possessions in Roumelia, about 100,000.

Tripolizza is the largest town in the Morea: its population was once 40,000. It is surrounded by a stone wall, and has a small fort; but its defence is in the long and narrow defiles and mountain passes, that must be traversed to gain access to the plain, in the middle of which it is situated. The greater part of the town has been burnt and destroyed by the Greeks themselves; and most of the towns of Greece have shared the same fate: the best houses being de-

stroyed for no more sensible reason than that once they had been inhabited by Turks. Napoli di Romania is a strong fortress; the houses are very high, the streets narrow and dirty, and it is very unhealthy. Navarino, from possessing an excellent and spacious harbour, is a place of great importance: it is indifferently fortified, and badly supplied with water. The town of Patras is entirely destroyed; the castle is a place of no strength, and commanded by an adjacent hill. The fortress of Corinth is in this warfare a place of little importance. Napoli di Romania is a strong place; but none of the fortresses had a week's provision, and the *matériel* was in a most dilapidated and almost useless state. The Greeks manufacture a coarse gunpowder, but have no founderies. The position of Messolunghi in Roumelia is excellent for defence, being situated on a jet of land, and surrounded by shoals and shallow lagunes. The town is a badly built and unhealthy place; the

streets, in winter, being complete canals of mud. It has been fortified by the Greek themselves, and is sufficiently strong against the Turks. The defence made there chiefly by the Suliotes, under Marco Botzari, before the present fortifications existed, was most gallant. When they were only protected by a ditch of about twenty feet, and a slight parapet of new-made earth thrown up in the face of an overpowering force, Marco Botzari passed two months of bad weather, with no covering but his cloak; his food, bad bread and bad water; and his nights spent in constant vigil behind this fragile defence. On the assault of the Turks, wherever the danger was most pressing, the voice of Botzari was heard, animating his friends, and striking terror into his enemies, to whom he was personally known. Great credit is due to Mavrocordato, for the skill he displayed in protracting their treaty to surrender, till at last relieved.

Lepanto is a small town, and might be easily

taken. Salona is not fortified; it was once a very large and fine town, but is at present nearly destroyed. The Acropolis of Athens is a strong fortress, well provisioned; and since the Greeks have had possession, they have discovered water in it, from the want of which the Turks capitulated. Thebes, Megara, Livadia, and all the towns in that plain, are entirely destroyed. A Prefect is now appointed to the principal town of every district, an office of which the military chiefs and primates are very jealous; having been accustomed to be regarded by the inhabitants as their rulers and arbiters, in all their concerns, though generally extortionate and unjust. The choice and creation of Prefects was an important measure towards the improvement of the situation of the people; but Greece unhappily affords very few persons possessing integrity and virtue enough to fill any office for the amelioration of her condition. In the large towns a commandant and com-

missary of police have also been appointed, and custom-houses and officers along the coast. The decima, the tax enacted by the Government, is raised by farming out the villages and towns, which are generally purchased by the chiefs and primates in whose district they are situated; but, in the greater part of the country, the Government had not yet assumed sufficient power to collect its revenues.

The state of Greece bore some resemblance to the feudal times, and the mountain-chieftain and his followers, to the clans of our own Highlands; but distinguished by qualities the very opposites of the chivalric sense of honour, the good faith, and bravery of Scotland's mountaineers.

CHAPTER IV.

THE campaign of 1824 began by the loss of Ipsara, in the month of July. The Turks effected a landing in boats, on a rocky and unguarded part of the shore, and surprised the town. The Ipsariots made a brave but ineffectual resistance. The women threw their children into the sea, and sprung after them. Few of the inhabitants escaped. But it was a dear-bought victory for the Capitan Pacha, who lost 2000 of his best men. The fortress of Napoli di Romania was ceded by the Government to the remaining brave and unfortunate Ipsariots. The Egyptian fleet of Mahomet Ali, which threatened a descent on the Morea, had put back to Rhodes, owing to the great sickness that pre-

vailed on board. The Greek fleet, under Admiral Miaulis, attacked that of Constantinople at Samos, burning with their ships two frigates and a brig; the brave Ipsariot, Capt. Canaris, displaying his usual intrepidity. The Constantinopolitan fleet afterwards joined the Egyptians at Stanco. Three camps were to be formed in the Morea; one at Patras, another in the plain of Gastouni, and the third near Navarino. General Anagnostara was to command at Gastouni, with Generals Coliopulo and Cryssantho, Sessini's eldest son, and Londos, with Zaimi and Gennao Colocotroni at the camp of Patras.

Two columns of Turks had advanced on Salona and Athens: the main body, under the command of Dervish Pacha, advanced from Zeitouni to within eight miles of Salona. Javela, Drako, and Danzley, Suliote captains, in conjunction with Pannuria, the chief of Salona, had formed a camp at Albania, an advantageous post, which commanded the principal pass from Zeitouni. The Turks from Larissa and Ne-

gropont had been engaged by Gennao near Marathon, and worsted in a well-fought skirmish. On the advance of the Turks, the inhabitants yearly take refuge in the neighbouring Islands of Coulouris and Ægina; Goura, with about 500 men occupying the fortress, which the Turks this year made no further attempt to attack. Great dissensions prevailed among the Albanians, the best troops of the Ottoman empire; and they wanted but little encouragement to embrace, in great numbers, the cause of the Greeks. Seven hundred Albanians had made offers to Ulysses to desert to him when he was in Negropont; but not having friends to pay either them or his own troops, he could not receive them. The Greeks inhabiting the mountains of Olympus, to the number of 12,000 fighting men, wanted only a supply of ammunition openly to revolt; but, though the benefit of having such a considerable force co-operating in the rear of the enemy was evident, no advantage was taken of either circumstance.

At Napoli the Government had attempted the organization of regular troops, and the command had been given to the then acting secretary of state, Rhodios; who was as inadequate to one situation as the other, having no military knowledge or experience, though a well-intentioned young man.* The Greeks are much prejudiced against regular troops;† and the measure required the greatest *eclat* at the commencement, as

* Rhodios began his military career early in Greece, as lieutenant in a company I held, and for the short time of my former stay in the country, at the siege of Tripolizza, in a regiment raised by Ipsilanti, and commanded by a Colonel Ballestre, and, from knowing the language, was the most useful of the two. When we ascribed the ideas *we* connect to Government ministers and secretaries of state, to the same thing in this infantine Republic, it seemed like playing at a game of assuming such characters; but it had the advantage, that, divested of all that imposing veil of grandeur and inaccessibleness, men were more open to observation, and the springs of action and their real merits were more easily distinguished.

† I remember, at the siege of Tripolizza, when the Greeks used to speak at night from our little battery to the Turks on the walls, the Turks reproached them, saying, "You will now be made Frank soldiers of, and slaves, worse than with us."

well as good management, to give it a chance of success. It required also some popular and well-known commander among the natives, or a distinguished foreigner; but the members of the Government seemed determined to invest all power in weak hands alone; and in those who owed their elevation entirely to themselves, as if they dreaded the assumption of office in any others. The same line of suspicious and misgiving policy was pursued with Ulysses; who, on his part, was equally distrustful of them, and of their intentions towards him. By Conduriotti, he had been well received, and with sincerity; but his enemies were busy against him, and his own retainers sought advantage, in insinuating to him reports of designs to his disparagement. It was proposed that he should remain with the Government as their counsellor and adviser; but his being attended by a body-guard of ten followers, which he required, was objected to. He refused a command at Hydra; as being shut up in a fortified island, he was there too much at

their disposal. Goura, in the meantime, instigated and guided by his secretary, Sophiono-pulo, a villainous character, had been supplanting Ulysses at Athens, which with the Athenians, fickle as of old, was not difficult; and, though he obeyed the orders he received from Ulysses to come to him at Napoli, it was the last act of his obedience, and he soon after assumed the chief command. The soldiers and retainers of Ulysses were in long arrears of pay; his demands for which, and even for brevets, in general so liberally bestowed,* were not accorded him, though many of his soldiers were, immediately on leaving his service, appointed to the rank of colonels and captains.

The first supply of the Loan reached Na-

* On speaking to Coletti, on the subject of giving, in such numbers, the rank of generals and lieutenant-generals, he answered, "Que voulez-vous? quand on n'a pas de l'argent, il faut payer avec du papier." It was also proposed, by introducing gradations of high rank, to do away with the title of Capitanos, applied generally to any military commander, which proposal originated with General Londos.

poli in July, instructions having been given to place it at the disposal of the Greek Government.* The seat of Government was a crowded Babel of vagabonds, in diverse dresses of all nations,—a mingled scene of dirty splendour, and dirtier wretchedness; and the streets wore the appearance of a sorry masquerade. Half-starved adventurers, candidates for posts and employments in the Government, open-mouthed in expectation of the English Loan, and straining every nerve to have a share, however small, in the general scramble. Never was warmer zeal displayed in support of supreme power than in Napoli. Every shadow of being a non-opinionist in the immaculate proceedings and omniscience of the existing rulers; the, to be, dispensators of this "cornu copium;" incurred instant censure; and Colocotroni, Ipsilanti, Ni-

* This unconditioned concession of the money in the hands of the Greeks themselves, has eventually caused all but their utter ruin; and whoever were the instigators of this measure, theirs is the guilt.

ketas, Ulysses, names that had gained celebrity by their gallant defence of their country, were all doomed, without appeal, to the appellation of traitors and anti-patriots. The incense and flattery offered to those in power, in proportion as they were unaccustomed to it, deprived them of all moderation and prudence.* Giving Ulysses the command of the forces opposed to Dervish Pacha was talked of; but, after having been shot at, when sitting by a window in Niketas's house, his demands refused, and his nomination delayed, Ulysses, accompanied by Trelawney and General Karaiscaki, quitted Napoli in disgust, leaving Negris there; and, with about 1000 men, joined the Greek camp at Albani. On a commissary being appointed, for the supply and

* It is remarked by some author; "The generous love of liberty which warms the bosom of the true patriot, is not the mean offspring of envy and malice, nor of a proud and peevish opposition to the ruling powers, *whatever they may be.*" In speaking of the ruling powers of Greece, *as they are—bad,* I should be very sorry to be thought opposed to ruling powers, "*whatever they may be.*"

payment of the troops, Ulysses learnt that the Government afforded no support to his soldiers, and that Goura was nominated to replace him in the command of Athens. Ulysses then made a seizure of Government money, disbanded his soldiers, and retired to his fortress at Parnassus; and the rumour spread that he was treating with the Turks.

At Albania, near Salona, the inactivity of the opposed camps, (posted as usual—the Greeks occupying the mountains, the Turks the plains) had been broken by one general engagement. The Turks attacked the Greek entrenchments; but being received by a sharp fire of musquetry, they soon retired, without attempting an assault. The Turks lost about 200 men, the Greeks four or five. This was the most important engagement that took place by land, during the whole campaign; and constituted the operations of the Turkish army, of above 20,000 men, opposed to 4000.

On the Western side of Roumelia, Omer Vrioni, at the head of about 6000 men, had advanced towards Messolunghi. Mavrocordato, again assuming a military capacity with Zougas, Maccrie, and Rango, Roumeliot captains, posted themselves on the heights of Lugovitza; where they remained, in complete inactivity, for three months, but their whole force did not amount to 3000 men. A detachment of cavalry passing their camp, surprised the town of Vrachova, and took or killed 300 of the inhabitants; the town had been before nearly destroyed, and with this exploit Omer Vrioni was satisfied.

In the Morea, an attack had been made, in the early part of the year, on Modon; this, with occasional skirmishes with the garrison of Patras, comprised the whole exertions of either side in the Morea. The Turkish garrisons, at Modon, Coron, and also Lepanto, remained very tranquil, and were left undisturbed. The Turks evince an unparalleled constancy in supporting

the privations of a siege, and this seems the only excellence they retain of their once renowned qualities for war! It was hardly possible to conceive the exaggerated reports, and for which rejoicings were celebrated, that were circulated and credited from one part of Greece to another. Government despatches and Gazettes (for two others had appeared besides the Messolunghi Chronicle; one at Hydra, entitled ὁ Φίλος τῶν Νὸμῶν, *Ami des Lois*, and another at Ægina) gave accounts of battles and successes that had no other existence but in their pages: and which reports were promulgated in Europe, and magnified as they got farther off till, according to them, the dark blue waters of these classic shores were made blood-red with slaughter.*

* My offers to serve in any military capacity not being accepted by the Government, I passed over to Roumelia, with a few soldiers in my own pay, visited Ulysses and Trelawney, in their mountain fortress on Mount Parnassus; and finding nothing going on in either camp, passing through Messolunghi, I returned to the Morea,

By sea, the operations had been more active: the Greeks attacked the combined fleets at Stanco, and with their formidable brulots (fire-ships) burnt several vessels. They repulsed an attempt of the Egyptians to effect a landing at Candia, making some prizes, and driving them back towards Rhodes; when part of their fleet returned to Alexandria, and the Constantinopolitan retired to Mitylene. After keeping the sea for three months, the whole Greek fleet returned to port, and the Egyptians seized the opportunity of

and took up my quarters for the winter at Gastouni: which the cordiality and hospitality of Sessi, governor of that Province, made an agreeable residence to strangers. Here, in the summer months, had Lord Charles Murray, after a short stay in Greece, fallen a victim to the unhealthy climate of the Morea.

Go, stranger, tract the deep,
Free, free, the white sail spread;
Wave may not flow, nor land wind sweep,
Where rest not England's dead:—
The warlike of the isles, the men of field and wave,
Are not the rocks their funeral piles, the seas and shores their grave.

effecting a landing in Candia. No aid had been afforded the Cretans by land; and the Pacha of Egypt's son, Ibrahim Pacha, who commanded the expedition, and of whose courage and talent report speaks well, confined his operations to gaining possession of that Island.

CHAPTER V.

In the mean time Andreas Londos and Zaimi, who had figured as the great Government champions against the Colocotronists, were no longer its zealous defenders; whether or not, presuming on their services, they required too much deference to be paid them, or whether their power and influence, exciting the jealousy of the Government, was their only offence, a misunderstanding had arisen between them. The threat-

ened expedition of Mahomet Ali had cemented no union, nor sufficed to quell the spirit of discord. Sessini, General Notara, the chief Primate of Corinth, and other men of power were also disaffected; and these disaffections were increased by the finesses and intrigues of such characters as Mavrocordato, and Pappa Flescia, and Sophionopulo. Coletti too, possessing more intellect and knowledge than the other members of the Government, assumed, in consequence, the chief direction, but dreaded the approach of every man of talent as likely to lessen his own influence and importance.

Colocotroni had once intended coming to Napoli, and sent to Tripolizza to provide quarters for three hundred men. On which the Government gave orders to turn out his son Gennaò, who was living in the town, and to shut the gates against them.

Zaimi, Londos and others, had now coa-

lesced with Colocotroni, and frequent meetings took place between them.

The Bey of Maina was reconciled to the Government. The Bey is a good-natured, portly personage, who sees with his own eyes that the moon is round; he is also sure the earth is square, for he has travelled some fifty miles, and found no sign any where of its being circular. When elected president of the executive, at the general congress at Astros, he objected to holding the situation, declaring his ignorance of politics; but Mavrocordato, who was nominated secretary of state, said, "Ce ne fait rien, vous serez le vaisseau, et moi, je serai le timon." Their present flourishing finances placed a large military force at their disposal, and they had bought over several leading men, as Coliopulo, Apostoli, Colocotroni, Karaiscaki, who had been suspected of once endeavouring to deliver Messolunghi to the Turks, Goura and others: but their sup-

port was uncertain, and existed no longer, when they thought nothing more was to be gained by their allegiance. No permanent advantage was furthered by the bad policy of raising one captain on the fall of another, who, in his turn, proved equally rebellious: it was like cutting off the ever-renewing heads of the fabulous Hydra.

Among the people the Government was unpopular, for the inhabitants had felt no beneficial effects from the revolution; and though it was not to be expected they should, yet their minds were by no means prepared to consider suffering in the glorious cause of liberating their country, a sufficient indemnification for the hardships and privations they endured. They also saw their situation was not equal; they saw the few already in power monopolize all its advantages; and the many, the weak, and the poor, bear unparticipatingly all its burdens. They heard of, and saw different interests opposed, but they found themselves oppressed and

plundered alike by all: they felt whatever party was uppermost their state remained unaltered. Nor was the situation of the soldiers improved; they received less pay than ever: the money was placed in the hands of the captains whose interests were no longer identified with, and dependant on their followers; as, without any improvement in discipline, the clanship that once united them was losing ground, and they paid but a small number of picked retainers necessary for the support of authority, and kept the rest themselves. Not much could be expected from soldiers badly paid, and who in case of being disabled by wounds, had no future maintenance to look forward to.* The military

* Walking in the streets of Napoli, among many other objects of misery, I remarked a poor fellow with a wounded arm, lying down exposed to the sun in a dying state: he was too far gone to be removed. On inquiry I found he was an Ipsariot, whose arm had been burnt on board a fire-ship, which was gallantly conducted against the enemy. And thus, in an action to which the Greeks owe their very existence as a nation, for their

system was miserably defective. The officers had no fixed pay, but they took care to indemnify themselves by the most unlimited peculation. The capitani received commissions, with the rank of general, appointing them to the command of 300 or 500 men, and some few for 1000. Lieutenants, generals, and colonels, to the command of 200, 100, or 50 men. Furnished with this brevet, they repaired to the camp or town to which they were ordered, raised soldiers, to the amount of about one third or less, of the number prescribed by their commission, perhaps 50 men, instead of 200, and drew

fire-ships have done every thing for them at sea, had this poor fellow suffered, and was left to die, unaided, and unregarded. Though Napoli was crowded with refugees in the most destitute state, and almost an epidemic raging in the town, no relief had been afforded them, or any hospital established by the Government; notwithstanding it might have been done at little trouble or expense, and would have been a measure calculated to make a favourable impression on the people. The establishment of a humane society was attempted, but it met with no encouragement.

rations of bread and money, to the amount of their full complement. And these irregulars alone, so useless and ineffectual, as the Greeks were soon destined to learn, by dear bought experience, when opposed to any degree of discipline, and conducted on this ruinous system, were much more expensive to maintain than an equal number of well organized and disciplined troops would have been. The regulars went on slowly, composed of the outcasts of the people, young boys, and old men; for no one who could pretend to the character of *palicari*, or free soldier, deigned to be a tactician. One or two German officers, of the few surviving, were the only persons that knew any thing of service; and their ideas did not extend beyond the mere routine of drill, which they could not accommodate to existing circumstances.

The Frank officers whom search of employment in their profession, or enthusiasm for the cause, had led to Greece, had suffered dread-

fully. The mode of existence of the Greek soldiers, is indeed appalling, to those accustomed to a civilized life. Dirt they are so used to that they do not consider it as a hardship: they will go six or eight months without any change of clothes by night or day. The Franks could be no better of; and they were besides often left in a state of all but starvation.* The

* There are some officers who have remained in the country since the commencement of the revolution, conducting themselves with great bravery, and leading a life of unrewarded hardship, danger, and unceasing privation, that does honour to their constancy and courage. Among others an Italian officer M—v—e, a French officer Monsieur la Viellasse, and an Hungarian of the name of Cameron, who was Marêchal du Logis in a French regiment of cavalry, of as excellent a disposition as he is a brave and gallant soldier. On one occasion, at Napoli, having compelled a soldier of Colocotroni's, who was ill-treating a woman, to desist, the fellow, assembling about fifty of his comrades, attacked Cameron in his quarters; and without further preface, levelled a discharge of guns and pistols at him, through the window. Cameron armed with his carbine and fixed bayonet went out, and they attacking him with their ataghans, he made a gallant defence, killing and

Government showed the greatest aversion to foreigners; though, as the Greeks have been debarred by their situation from acquiring knowledge in any branch of military science, if they intend to advance in it, they must in the first instance have recourse to them. Coletti, in a conference on a proposal to form a corps of cavalry, observed, "those foreigners who would make such good officers, would answer equally for instructors, which was all that was required of them." It was expecting rather too much, that officers should philanthropically devote themselves to instruct troops, without either pay or rank, and then, when they had performed all that was required of them, to depart in peace. The Government had neglected an advantageous offer, made by Mr. Hastings, to have a steam-vessel constructed in England,

wounding several, when his foot slipped, and he fell: these savages then rushing on him, left him for dead, with seven wounds implanted by their coward-hands.

which would have been of great service. An Italian, Colonel Gubernati, who commanded the regulars at the battle of Peta, and was there severely wounded, exasperated at the treatment he met with, deserted to Mahomet Ali; who, by his liberal encouragement, had collected a formidable body of tried and experienced officers.

These unfortunate soldiers of fortune, banished from their own countries, without resources enough for present subsistence, or to take them to America, their only chance of employment, were left but the choice of starvation or Mahomet Ali's service. It was not therefore greatly to be wondered at that they should prefer the latter, and say, with Voltaire's Charles XII. of Sweden *haussant les epaules*, "Allons plutôt chez les Turques." At the time the greater part of them entered the Pacha's service, his preparations were professedly against revolted tribes of the Arabs; but now that they are led against the Greeks, let them forego the

advantages they may enjoy, redeem their characters from becoming the tools of a tyrant, and espouse the Grecian cause.

The Greeks still possessed a French officer of distinguished talent in their country M. Le Col. Favrier, who, had they chosen, could have rendered them effectual service. In October Mr. Bulwer and Hamilton Browne arrived with a payment of the Loan, to obtain a ratification of its conditions, which the Greek Government had not yet accorded, and which, after experiencing most vexatious delays, they obtained, and both falling ill, returned to England.

In November, the Turkish forces in both Eastern and Western Greece, after losing great numbers by sickness, began to withdraw, without further hostilities. Nothing could exceed their extraordinary inactivity and want of enterprise. The inertness of the Turks has all along solely constituted the salvation of the Greeks, who, if attacked by an active enemy, are not prepared

to offer any effectual resistance.* Messolunghi was becoming a rich and flourishing commercial town. On the breaking up of the camp at Lugovitza, the Messolunghiots refused admittance to the captains to take up their winter-quarters in the town, and open hostilities threatened to commence in consequence. A brig was sent by the Government to Messolunghi, for the field guns and remnant of the intended arsenal sent out by the London Committee, but the guns they refused to deliver.

Mavrocordato had been recalled from his command by the Government to resume his former post of secretary of state. But it seems his favourite ambition to figure as a great military commander: a strange perversion, for, besides possessing neither military knowledge nor talent,

* It was amusing for any one who had been on the scene of *in*action, to read the pompous accounts in foreign gazettes; containing letters of Prince Mavrocordato, and other mis-statements of the exploits of the campaign.

he is utterly devoid of courage—a quality so indispensable in a general. On the appearance of danger he loses all presence of mind, as he showed at the battle of Peta, though he was not within five hours' march of the scene of action; and, on the night of an expected attack of Lugovitza; at raising the siege of Patras, and his precipitate retreat; and on the authority of a French officer on Mavrocordato's staff, the night of the assault of the Turks on Messolunghi, he embarked for Anatolia.

'He delayed his departure, till the state of his finances, the close of the campaign and arrival of the time to pay his troops made it a politic step.*

* English sovereigns, valued at fifty piastres by the Government, were paid away at Messolunghi, at the rate of fifty-five piastres; and a sum of money entrusted to Mavrocordato, by the German Greek Committees, for the relief of the distressed Germans in Greece, he reserved to his own use; but he has been fortunate in receiving donations from distant countries. Lord Guilford sent him 4000 dollars from Corfu; the London Committee sent him clothes and boots from Bond

Mavrocordato left Messolunghi for Napoli secretly; a salute publicly announced his departure, nearly a month after, and he assumed his functions as secretary of state.

A Captain Fenton, according to his own account a British officer, a native of Scotland, and at that time a captain of Ulysses, to whom Trelawney had given the command of some artillery he had taken for him from Messolunghi, commenced an intrigue within the month of September, with Mavrocordato, in which he engaged to assassinate Ulysses, and his own countryman, Trelawney. Whoever first made this infamous proposal, an argument used by Mavrocordato,

Street; and the burghers of the good city of Rotterdam, addressed to his serene highness a cargo of pippins, which were delivered to him during the siege of Navarino, by three broad-brimmed deputies. I do not know whether the honest Dutchmen were aware of his aversion to powder and ball, that they fixed on the favoured fruit of Eden, when war was unknown, or whether their donation was symbolical of the apple of discord, and that, as such, their offering was most appropriate. September 9th, 1825.

was, that Trelawney, as a native of Great Britain, being in the service of the Greeks, was out of the pale of his country's laws; and an American of the name of Jarvis, now a Greek Lieutenant-General, was Mavrocordato's agent in the affair, and negociated between them. The entire developement of this affair is yet a mystery, but Trelawney's attempted assassination by Fenton has taken place.

Negris, who had remained unemployed at Napoli, after the departure of Ulysses, died there after a short illness. That his death was not considered a public loss, was owing to the party spirit that has caused so much harm. He entered the Morea, and the cause of the Greeks, when deputed from the Porte to the court of France. Besides having partly formed the constitution of Greece, his country is indebted to him for not having the odium of breaking a capitulation made at Tripolizza. An exclusive capitulation was made with the Albanian troops

of the garrison, who marched out of the town, with arms and baggage, to the number of about 2000; and Negris escorted them in person nearly out of the Grecian territory, taking measures that the treaty should not be violated, and they accordingly entered their own country unmolested. The Greeks, after their departure, attacked the town, when an armistice was understood and negociations for a surrender were carrying on; but the assault was a simultaneous movement of the soldiers, occasioned by a few Greeks, through the unwariness of the Turkish guard, gaining possession of the fort, which proved a signal for the attack.

CHAPTER VI.

THE Greeks, now freed from all apprehension of immediate danger from internal foes, seemed resolved to lose no time in reverting, with increased ardour, to their former dissensions. Londos had had conferences with Ulysses, but he did not embrace their party. The Suliotes had also made him an offer to place themselves under his command; but Ulysses distrusted their unmanageable character, and the constant bickerings and jealousies of their numerous petty captains; besides which, in an evil hour, following the impulse of revenge, he was now enleagued with the Turks.

Londos published, at Messolunghi, a long proclamation against the Government. He was

popular with the soldiers, whom he always paid: he was clever, active, and ambitious, but a man of debauched habits. Zaimi was also popular in his province of Calabrita, and bore a high character throughout Greece. Goura was admitted in the league. The Suliotes, at Salona, were first engaged to join the disaffected. The faction of the Colocotronists acted in concert, together with Notara and Sessini, and the province of Arcadia was in open revolt: but the Government, on their side, were not idle. Vasili Danzley, a Suliote captain, appeared at Napoli, speaking openly of the two parties, and inclining rather to the disaffected. He was gained over by the Government, and dispatched to Salona to ensure the fidelity of the Suliote captains. The Bey of Maina remained neutral.

The captains of Western Greece took no part in the dissensions of the Morea, and were, besides, sufficiently occupied with their own. Zongas, the most powerful, was a good patriot,

always active against the Turks, and without either talent or inclination for politics. Pappa Flescia was sent to quell the insurrection in Arcadia, and enforce payment of the revenues due from that province; but with insufficient forces, and was obliged to retire on Tripolizza. The troops that had been stationed at Hydra were recalled, and Coletti, at the head of about 4000 men, marched against the Arcadians. Panno Colocotroni, advancing on Tripolizza, was attacked by a Bulgarian captain, and slain. Coliopulo withdrew from Patras, and marched towards Tripolizza, and was soon followed by Costa Botzari, though with no intention of engaging in hostilities on either side. The Turkish garrison at Patras, amounting to about 3000 men, under the command of Youseph Pacha, taking advantage of the troops being withdrawn, made extensive sorties, ravaging the country, and making large prizes in flocks and cattle; and advanced till within two miles of

Gastouni. Sessini's eldest son, General Crysantho, remained alone at the camp, where we had only 300 soldiers; and that was the only Greek force, at this moment, opposed to the Turks. A party of seventy Greeks were surprised, and cut up by the Turkish cavalry, twelve only escaping. Sessini's second son joined Zaimi with 200 men. Sessini intended to proceed himself to Tripolizza, with a view to mediate. A general congress was proposed, and many earnestly desired the protection of a foreign power, and to ask the assistance of England. Londos, with Notara, had advanced on Argos, where Goura was to join them from Athens, Zaimi and Colocotroni remaining near Calabrita: but here the death-blow to their party was prepared. Sophionopulo, Goura's secretary and counsellor, had been bought over by the Government; and, though not from any right feeling, persuaded Goura that it was the moment to gain celebrity and great reputation, by espousing the Govern-

ment, and turning the tide in their favour; and, on the advance of Goura, Londos found, in the expected reinforcement, a formidable foe. Completely disconcerted, they made but a slight resistance. After one engagement with Goura, in which he lost sixty men, the Notaras were the first to yield, and Londos and Zaimi fled with precipitation. Coletti, on his side, had been completely successful; all resistance had been overpowered, and the revolted provinces laid under contribution. The Suliotes, from Salona, had disembarked at Vostizza, Londos' chief town, and joined Goura, who marched rapidly through the Morea without further opposition, devastating and plundering on every side. Niketas, with twenty followers, arrived at night at Gastouni, in the month of January; informed Sessini of their defeat, who fled the next morning with the prefect, at the moment that some of Goura's men entered the town, and crossed over to Zante. Zaimi, Londos, and Niketas, em-

barked for Roumelia. Gastouni was entered by Goura as an enemy's conquered town; my residence, and that of Doctor Tyndall, another Englishman residing in the town, being alone respected; because we were born in that country of which men are, not without reason, proud to be natives. Crysantho Sessini remained at the camp, but was summoned to surrender, and sent under an escort to Napoli.

Here there was one desirable object attained; the power of both the military chiefs and primates was broken: the next object was to find rulers to replace them, who would act with more unanimity and patriotism, and govern with less extortion and rapacity. These, however, were wanting; yet in the state of the country, they were indispensably requisite; and from the want of them the fabric, as though unhinged, became more disordered and more unmanageable than ever. An implacable hatred was now rooted between the Roumeliots, and Moreots. The

Roumeliots conducted themselves with the licentiousness of a conquering army, while they hated the Moreots, considering that they were indebted to them, as was the case, for protecting their country from invasion, while their own was solely exposed to the ravages of the war: in addition to which, they bore in mind that when their families had sought refuge in the Morea, they were not only inhospitably received, but had often been ill treated and plundered. At a distance, the state of Greece exhibited a favourable and promising aspect;—resources to repulse a powerful and numerous enemy, and a firm and decided Government; but scarcely anything had been really attempted by them against the Turks, while the country was internally a prey to discontent and disunion; and the administration of the Government had excited the fear and distrust of the people, rather than their confidence and good-will. The loan of 800,000*l.* was nearly exhausted, their fortresses were in no

better state of defence, their troops no better paid or disciplined, nor the state of their revenues improved. Peculation was notoriously practised by almost every one in office, and few of them capacitated to discharge their functions. According to the constitution, the members of the Government were to be annually chosen; but, as long as their finances continued flourishing, the re-election of the then existing members, or of those they chose to appoint, was now ensured. A brother of the vice-president Botazi had succeeded him on his death. Constantine Mavromichalis a brother of the Bey of Maina, and Speliotachi a Moreot, had succeeded to the vacant posts; and, with Coletti and the president Conduriotti, composed the five members of the Executive. A nephew of General Notara was president of the legislative body. It had been for some time proposed to form an aristocratic Government, something similar to the Council of Ten, of Venice, of which Conduriotti

was to be perpetual president, and the legislative body to be abolished. Goura, among others, had given his assent to this measure. The Hydriots were assuming great influence, and were appointed to the chief commands throughout the country.

Colocotroni, on the defeat of his party, overpowered and deserted by his brother-in-law, Coliopulo, with Degliani, surrendered himself at Napoli, and, with Notara and his son, they were sent state prisoners to Hydra. Colocotroni said to the people on embarking, "You are already once indebted to me for saving our country from the enemy; when it is endangered, I shall be recalled to do so again!" Sessini, after leaving Zante, first landed in Maina, and then proceeding to Napoli with his son Crysantho, shared the same fate. They were confined in a monastery at Hydra, and treated with wanton insult. Zaimi and Londos found a short asylum at Calamo, and afterwards wandered about in Rou-

melia. Niketas joined Zongas, and was left unmolested at Messolunghi. Being from his liberality always without money, the Roumeliot captains generously offered him by subscription 20,000 piastres, which he as nobly refused: such acts reflect honour on a nation. During the siege of Messolunghi, when the town was in great danger, Ipsilanti, at a time when his finances were at a very low ebb, gave an entertainment, and at it proposed a subscription for the relief of the town, giving himself a sum of money and his plate. His noble example was seconded by Niketas, and the amount was sent to Mavrocordato.

In February, Goura was hastily recalled from the Morea, as Ulysses, now acting openly with the Turks, was advancing on Athens at the head of a body of Turkish cavalry. He sent an address to the Athenians, declaring, he directed his vengeance against the Morea, not

against them; but they prepared to oppose him, and Ulysses did not hazard an attack.

Great preparations were now talked of for the siege of Patras, and in both Eastern and Western Greece offensive operations were to be carried on.

Constantine Metana was commissioned to arrange a commissariat for the troops by land, and collect the revenues of the province of Gastouni, and was almost the only person of sufficient integrity to be intrusted with a charge so liable to be abused. A Greek squadron had arrived off Messolunghi to form the blockade at Patras, the acknowledgment of which by the English gave great satisfaction. There is not a mountain village in all Greece where the name of an Englishman does not command peculiar deference and attention; but that is not confined merely to Greece; and it is a proud feeling for a Briton to find that birthright alone gives him a privilege above all others; and it must be a proud feeling for our present statesman, to whom

England owes so much of her present elevation: she now stands the bulwark of the liberties of mankind, the guardian of the oppressed, and the barrier to the turbulent and licentious.

In the civil dissensions of the Greeks, a foreigner could have no concern. I now went to Napoli, and obtained a brevet for fifty men; but, through Mavrocordato's opposition, it was accorded with great reluctance. I then received orders to join the Suliotes at the camp of Patras; a regulation having been made for the payment of the captains every three months; but the Greek Government are bad paymasters. The regulars now amounted to 300 men, well-appointed in *drummers*, eternally practising about the streets. A company of artillery had been formed by Emanuel Kalergi, chiefly at his own expense; but the *matériel* destined for the siege of Patras consisted only of two mortars, destitute of shells, and four sixteen-pounders, without balls; those collected having been taken for the service

of the fleet. The medical branch of the service was not in a more advanced state; but the President intending to take the field in person, a young Englishman, Dr. Millingen, who had established and carried on a dispensary at Messolunghi with great ability, and an American, Dr. Howe, received appointments. Most of the Greeks who had studied medicine, from the superiority of education, had found their advantage in discarding the Æsculapian art for the diplomatique. Several foreigners had arrived at Napoli: a Scotchman, Mr. Mason, who devoted himself, as civilian, with great enthusiasm to their cause; Count Santa Rosa, and the Major Collegno, a Piedmontese officer of distinguished merit, who was nominated Ἀρχιμηχανικος (chief engineer). A second loan of 2,000,000*l.* was prepared for the Greeks in England, and raised fresh expectations and hopes.

CHAPTER VII.

MAHOMET ALI, established at Candia, was dangerously near, and his vicinity to the Morea afforded less scope to defence by sea. The Sultan had accorded to the Pacha all the territory he might acquire in the Morea, to be annexed to his own dominions.

In the beginning of March, 1825, the Egyptians, under Ibrahim Pacha, landed troops at Modon and Corfu; and shortly after a second disembarkation took place. The regular troops were composed of Moors; with them were several European officers, who acted principally as instructors, those only who had embraced Mahometanism holding commands. The men were armed with musquets and bayonets; they were

tolerably trained, but, considered as a regular army, very imperfect, and badly equipped; and, as is usually the case in Turkish armies, their commissariat particularly defective. Ibrahim Pacha was attended by a renegado Frenchman, as his adviser, who had been a colonel in his own service; his Moslem name and title were Soliman Bey. The garrison of Navarino consisted, at that time, of 300 men. The Turks made an attempt to carry it by storm, but were gallantly repulsed, and then invested it with 10,000 men.

Generals Karaiscaki, Giavella, and Bedzadi the eldest son of the Bey of Maina, behaved with great bravery in harassing the Turks; but the want of cavalry to oppose the formidable Mamelukes was severely felt. Bedzadi received a wound in the arm, and died at Arcadia, for want of proper surgical assistance: he was a fine young man of talent and great promise. Anagnostara and the Bulgarian general Hadgj Christo arrived from Napoli.

But the constant want of unanimity was again manifested: the day on which one commander attacked, another would draw off, unwilling to acknowledge a superior: and when the Roumeliots engaged, the Moreots remained inactive. Nor did the soldiers like fighting with the Moors, who, when killed, afforded no other spoil but a Frank musquet and bayonet, on which they formerly set no value, but which they have now been taught to fear: while the Turks had not only rich arms of gold and silver, but frequently large sums of money which were found round their waist, where both the Turks and Greeks carry it in a belt; and this custom of stopping to plunder every dead body, though some incitement to attack, is a serious obstacle to following up any advantage. The instant a man falls, a crowd is round him directly; and when flying, they often throw away their arms, to tempt their pursuers to stop and pick them up.

In the latter end of March, the president

left Napoli for Tripolizza, at the head of about 2000 men, accompanied by Mavrocordato; but the approach of the feast of Easter, and the rainy weather, proved sufficiently weighty reasons to postpone the expedition; whose proposed destination was first Navarino, and then Patras. On leaving Tripolizza, the president took up his head-quarters at Cintra. The arrears of the troops, without which they refused any longer to serve, were now paid; they therefore made bolder advances, and, their communications being cut off, the Turks were forced to retire. Mavrocordato threw himself in Navarino; and the Greek fleet arriving, engaging and driving away that of the Egyptians, the garrison was provisioned and increased to about 700 men. The Turks again advancing, the place was closely invested, the town hotly bombarded, and batteries thrown up at the foot of the walls. In the mean time preparations for forming a camp at Patras had not been discontinued, and a well-arranged commissariat, the first in Greece, had been organized

by Constantine Metana; and for the first time the captains were obliged to muster their men. This was an important measure, but which could not, in its commencement, be thoroughly executed: the captains borrowed soldiers from each other for the review, and enrolled the peasantry, but notwithstanding the barefacedness of the deception, the mere show of the muster was some check to the ruinous peculation carried on.

It was an inactive existence at the camp of Patras. I had volunteered my services for Navarino, which by the president were accepted at Tripolizza, but I afterwards got orders again for Patras.

In April, Racschid Achmet Pacha advanced on Anatolia, with a force of 30,000 men, and shortly after invested Messolunghi. Zongas, Maccrie and Niketas entering the town, and the Roumeliots quitting Navarino, joined them in great numbers. The Greek squadron had left the Gulph of Lepanto; and the garrison of Patras

which had begun to want provisions, was now relieved, and it was at the free option of the Turks, to cross the gulph from Roumelia and make a descent on the Morea.

In this critical position of affairs, Zaimi and Londos re-entered the Morea; and landing at Monte Nero, near Patras, with about 100 followers, commenced levying troops. They sent an address to the Government, declaring they had returned, in this threatening moment of danger, only to act against the common enemy; but the Government gave orders to apprehend them wherever they should be found; and when they were quickly at the head of 1500 men, the Suliotes and General Coliopulo, received orders to march to oppose them, and that at a time when Shakai Bey of Roumeli Valisi, detached from Messolunghi, at the head of 4000 Albanian troops, ravaged all Roumelia from west to east. This, and the dissensions between the Moreots

and Roumeliots, which had reached to such a height, that constant tumult and bloodshed took place between them, determined the Government to send all the troops that were not natives from the Morea, to oppose the Turks in Roumelia. The orders which the Suliotes had received, and had marched to act upon, were accordingly now countermanded, and their destination was changed to Salona, whither we immediately marched; and at Vostizza joined Karaiscaki, Giavella, and Costa Botzari, who had left Navarino. Our little army consisted of 2000 men, Albanians and Roumeliots, and including all the Suliotes. Had the days lost in marching against Zaimi and Londos been employed in reaching Salona, that place might have been saved, but its fate was now decided. The people were now loud in their demands for the release of Colocotroni and their other rulers. In Sessini's province of Gastouni, though before always complaining of his extortion, they were

eagerly desiring his return. Colocotroni had demanded an immediate trial, or to be released to oppose the enemy.

Goura had been engaged against the camp of Ulysses at Tarenta; when that chieftain, suddenly leaving the Turks at Negropont, unattended and alone, and unable to gain access to his fortress, surrendered to Goura. Whatever were the views of Ulysses, either in joining or leaving the Turks, whether they suspected his design, and that he only intended making use of them for his present advancement, employing the enemies of his country was treading on dangerous ground; and, however exasperating the treatment he had experienced, his so doing is not to be defended: "It was a grievous fault, and grievously has he answered it." He remained a prisoner at Athens. His cave, in Mount Parnassus, where his family and riches were placed, and which Trelawney commanded, was closely blockaded, and every attempt made to gain

possession. Ulysses was in person escorted to the cave, and forced to sign a summons to Trelawney to surrender, but which was not complied with. Trelawney had greatly determined Ulysses to leave the Turks, and proposed to him to quit Greece entirely for a time, and go to America: he could not, therefore, in honour, betray the trust reposed in him. The situation of the cave defies all open attack: a steep and difficult ascent leads to the foot of it; a vast projecting arch, entering deep in the massive rock, at 150 feet perpendicular height from the ground, forms this impregnable hold; three flights of ladders lead to a small portal, cut in the solid rock, and surmounted by battlements. In the interior, are houses, numerous magazines, and an extensive *terre-plein*, all completely open to the sun and light, but sufficiently sheltered by the arch to render it inaccessible from above. It is provisioned for a number of years, and a spring, running from the rock, supplies it with

water. Its garrison was composed of a few trusty followers,* under the command of Trelawney.

On the advance of the Albanians detached from Messolunghi, under the Shakaia Bey, Pannuria, chief of Salona, advanced to oppose them; but, inferior in numbers, received a check at Pendaornia. Goura joining Pannuria from Tarenta, they together occupied

* It is a most romantic situation. Numbers of eagles, once the undisturbed possessors of the now peopled cave, are constantly soaring above: and here, on my former visit to Trelawney, whose appearance and lofty bearing, and whose character and wild adventurous life well accorded with his situation, I found the latest novel which had then appeared from the pen of the author of Waverley. It was delightful, on the heights of Mount Parnassus, to meet with a romance of his, in a scene so congenial to his writings. Two small beautiful young deer, natives of Mount Parnassus, were destined as a present to Waverley's author; but the chance of war has otherwise disposed of them. The view from the cave was beautiful, extending over the rich plain of Livadia, surmounted by the rising mountains of Negropont and intervening sea. Immediately opposite rose another range of rocky mountains, between a deep and precipitous ravine, down which rushes a rapid stream.

Salona. Here Goura, trusting to the terror of his name, neglected all precautions of defence; but the Albanians knew how to distinguish between the hand that struck a blow, and the head that guided its direction; and, unprepared for an attack, they were surprised by the Turks, driven out of the town, and completely routed, with a loss of 200 of their bravest soldiers. The greater part of the inhabitants were taken or put to the sword. The Greeks were panic-struck: never had the Turks made such rapid movements. The Turks said to them, "You have not Ulysses with you now, and we no longer fear you." The former campaigns had not been even commenced by the Turks till the month of July, as they waited the ripening of the crops for forage for their cavalry; but, as they acted in their enemy's country, they ought rather to have commenced operations before the crops could be got off the ground and secured by the Greeks; after which the country,

completely burnt up in the months of August and September, afforded no subsistence, and they were left entirely to their own supplies, which were generally soon exhausted. But, by coming sooner, they had at least green forage for the present; and as the war was not very actively carried on, they had little to apprehend from any of their distant communications being cut off; and they could be equally supplied from their own provinces, without first waiting to encumber themselves with its transport, or beginning to consume it before it was absolutely required.

The wind being against embarking our forces at Vostizza, we marched rapidly along the coast of the Gulph of Lepanto to Corinth, where we embarked, and joined Goura at the monastery of San Lucca, near Dystomo, where we found him wrangling with his soldiers about arrears of pay, which he refused to give, though he had received the money from the Government. Discontented, they were deserting him in great num-

bers *. Goura was appointed commander-in-chief, but the hereditary chieftain, Karaiscaki and the proud Suliote captains, ill brooked acting under the orders of an upstart, devoid of talents, and the consequence was ceaseless discord and dissensions †. It was proposed

* I had not seen Goura for more than a year, when with Ulysses we played the jerreed together at Athens, for I was absent from Gastouni the few days he staid there. He is a fine-looking fellow, and brave; but the brutal acts of cruelty of which he has been guilty, are disgraceful to humanity.

† Taking advantage of a day's inactivity, I made a rapid night-march to the cave of Ulysses, to visit my countrymen in their far-famed wild dwelling, as I had not seen them for many months. I passed the precipitous defiles during a rainy night, as the road by the plain was open to the Turks. On returning afterwards from the cave, and seeking shelter in a ruined church, we encountered a party of fifteen desperate-looking fellows, who were apparently deserting to the Turks; and, as an Englishman is always supposed to be rich in gold and silver, we had every reason to expect an adventure. My party consisted of an Italian officer, two men, and a lad, my pipe-bearer, but all staunch; and had they attempted it, they would neither have found a rich or an easy prize; but we

by Karaiscaki and Giavella, to demand the release of Ulysses; who, had he desired, could not have again joined the Turks, but that was opposed by the other captains. Except Messolunghi and Athens, there remained but two small towns in all Roumelia that had escaped the devastations of the Turks; these were Disfena and Kastri, the site of ancient Delphi; but owing to some delay, from want of necessary supplies, and more from wavering resolves and councils, we allowed the enemy to advance on them. Kastri being a strong position, the inhabitants defended themselves from their houses, and the enemy retired, after setting fire to a small number. The Turks then advanced in two columns, by different routes, on a position we now occupied at Dystomo, leaving a small force at Salona, which we ought then to

passed part of the night very peaceably together, round the same fire.

have attacked, approaching by the mountain passes; or, at least, engaged them in detail:* but we contented ourselves with fortifying our position, and waiting an attack. A small party of Turkish cavalry boldly reconnoitred the Delhis, walking their horses composedly within musket-shot of our tambours; but the Greeks are not to be led against cavalry, under any advantage whatsoever. We had a trifling skirmish with an advanced party of infantry, and the Turks retiring on Disfena, which they completely destroyed, retrograded on Salona, without making an attack, and we followed, completing the work of devastation.

Two Turks, taken prisoners at Disfena, were staked and burnt alive: that it is a retaliation,

* Alluding to a former engagement, the professed war-cry of the Suliotes was, "Hurrah! for Salona!" But alas! now the moment was come, they did not suit the action to the word, it was;—*Vox et præterea nihil.*

is a poor apology for such barbarity in any calling themselves Christians.*

We were irregularly supplied with flour, from the Morea; but whole flocks of sheep and goats, that had escaped the ravages of the enemy, were taken from the unfortunate peasants, whom we did not even endeavour to protect. The Turks reaped, we gleaned the country; and our soldiers, better acquainted with the place of refuge of the inhabitants, plundered without restraint. Thanks to the inactivity and

* I lost here the faithful and well-loved companion of my wanderings and dangers—a Newfoundland dog. Dear Fashion! she was probably shot by some soldiers, who did not know the dog, and mistook her for one of their country. They are fond of killing every living thing, except Turks with arms in their hands. My dog seemed to be more human than my fellow-creatures, by whom I was surrounded. I stood alone, indeed, "without one trusted heart and hand." It was a dreary and a troubled feeling, and sometimes forced a sigh for scenes of former days, which I might never behold again. It was a disgusting service, and I determined to leave it as soon as the campaign should be over.

stupidity of the Turks, our provisions which we received in boats, from the Morea, were not cut off, though they commanded the gulph. Our army hardly amounted to 3000 men, for numbers had deserted Goura, to return to Athens; but we drew rations for 11,600, which, when regularly supplied, were sold by the captains. There were no commissariat mules, but those of the inhabitants were put in requisition, and often carried away.

Karaiscaki, our most enterprising captain, now acted independently of Goura, and we generally, after some delay, followed his steps; for Goura's men were disconcerted at their late defeat, and had no confidence in his leading. The Greeks are an acute people; and he who attempts to command them, must possess very superior talent, or he may in vain hope to maintain any influence over them.

CHAPTER VIII.

In the mean time the siege of Navarino continued but too successfully on the part of the Turks. The Greeks could not stand the determined advances of regular troops; and, abandoning their tambours, were cut up by the cavalry. A brother-in-law of Coletti, Pappas Flescia, and several other commanders, were killed. Hadgj Christo, with 800 men occupying a position in the old castle of Navarino, their supplies were cut off, and they were obliged to capitulate; but the gallant Hadgj Christo, unwilling to surrender, and, with only a hundred followers, endeavouring to force his way through the Turks, was made prisoner, and afterwards shot. Those that submitted were dismissed by

Ibrahim Pacha. On the appearance of an attack in boats, on a small island situated in the harbour, the greater part of the garrison abandoned it, and took refuge on board the ships; but the brave Surmadoff, an Hydriot captain, who commanded the squadron, and was entrusted with its defence, refused to desert his post, and remained with twelve of his men. His brig, in which Mavrocordato, who was in the Island, had embarked, fought her way gallantly through the Egyptian fleet, and joined the rest of the squadron, who had moved off. Mavrocordato joined the President Conduriotti at Calamata, who shortly after returned to Napoli. Anognostara, and other captains, who had remained, were killed; the few men who escaped saved themselves by swimming. The brave Count Santa Rosa here lost his life. The surrender of Navarino soon followed the loss of the Island: the garrison being reduced to a scanty supply of water and provisions, in the

latter end of May capitulated, to the number of 700 men—the soldiers giving up their arms, the officers retaining theirs. The garrison was to be transported by neutral ships to Calamata, but Ibrahim Pacha detained the only surviving son of the Bey of Maina, and Iatracco, chief of Mistra, and afterwards offered them in exchange for the Pacha of Napoli, Ali Bey, whom the Greeks had made prisoner: but this was refused, on the plea that he had retained his prisoners contrary to the treaty. The English surgeon, Dr. Millingen, joined the munificent Pacha. The loss of the garrison during the siege amounted to about fifty men; and in the different engagements, since the landing of the Egyptians, the Greeks lost about 1000, and the enemy more than double that number. In this Oriental warfare, where so small a number of men are killed, it is only a few of the bravest who advance and are really engaged; the rest are little more than noisy spectators,

firing out of all distance. It is the same thing with the fleet: about ten vessels take the lead in every engagement; the others look on. The Greek fleet had made a successful attack on the Egyptians lying at Modon; burning several of their ships, and making numerous prizes of vessels bearing supplies: but the advantage came too late "to turn the odds of deadly game." The Moreots used before to regret the successes of the fleet, and complained that the Islanders, by impeding the enemy's landing in the Morea, monopolized to themselves all the booty and spoils of war. But the Greeks still find, as in former times, their best defence is in wooden walls. Messolunghi was closely besieged. There were many Greeks in the Turkish army, and these were chiefly employed in the works of the siege. They had advanced their approaches, and had planted two guns on the counterscarp of the ditch: four guns and two mortars, badly served, formed their train of ar-

tillery. They had effected breaches in two places, but did not attempt any assault. Their force amounted to 22,000 men: three Pachas, besides Radschid Achmet Pacha who commanded, were in the camp; they were well supplied with provisions, but without the slightest order or vigilance; and a spirited sortie would be very likely to raise the siege. The garrison of Messolunghi amounted to 6000 men; most of their families had taken refuge at the Island of Calamo, humanely appropriated to the reception of the Greeks; but so many of the inhabitants of the country had sought protection within the walls, that the number of useless mouths was very great, and they required large supplies of provisions, which were beginning to fail them. Colocotroni, and the other state prisoners at Hydra, were now released; the Government proclaiming a general pardon to all political offenders, with the exception of Ulysses, as a traitor to his country. But by retarding this

measure till the emergency of affairs, and the demands of the people left them no choice, it was received not as an act of grace, but as a homage to their power; and Colocotroni again raised his standard for the gathering of his clan at Caritena.

The Turks from Negropont were now advancing towards Athens. The posture of affairs at Salona remained much the same. We led a rough life on the heights of Mount Parnassus; marching and countermarching; bivouacing in its sequestered valley—"scenes more suited to the shepherd's tale;" * never engaging, though

* After marching through the trackless wilds of the mountains, our guides showing the sagacity of the American Indian, we used to halt in some grass-grown dell, where there was a supply of water, and where our fires were not likely to be discerned by the enemy. Numerous fires soon appeared among the rocks and trees; and the rude groups of the soldiers were seen, by their light, preparing their repast, or couched under the thick foliage of the fir-trees, which formed our dwell-

close to the enemy; and harassing the men to no purpose. As long as the Turks were accommodating enough to remain inactive, it would have been folly, on the part of the Greeks, to rouse them from their lethargy, "and make pursuit when they did mean no chace." But the time was come to stand at bay. The Turks had been reinforced, and amounted to about 8000 men. We had divided our forces; one division occupying a monastery about two miles distant from Salona, while the other formed a *camp volant;* and if the monastery was attacked, we were to fall on the enemy when engaged. A Greek captain, Skalsas, was on the opposite mountains, close above Salona, with about 2000 men. The multitude of our generals were constantly holding councils of war, where they universally agreed to disagree. It was an amusing

ing, and sheltered us well from the heavy rains that fell continually on the mountains.

sight to see these cross-legged warriors seated in a circle on the ground, surrounded by their armed followers. Goura possessed no authority, and his situation began to be embarrassing; Sophionulo, his adviser, having derived from him all the advantages he had to expect, now deserted him. He had made himself an host of enemies by betraying the party he had espoused, who were now become all-powerful in the Morea, and his only chance of support was in giving Ulysses his liberty; but he feared Ulysses might forget that benefit, and only remember the wrongs he had received from him. He proposed making an adherent of General Giavella, by holding out the prospect of his taking the command of the province of Livadia. An affair now happened that led to my leaving Greece, which I should not otherwise have done at this critical juncture. A treacherous attempt by Fenton to assassinate Trelawney, and in

which Fenton was shot, had taken place in the cave of Ulysses; and a few days afterwards Ulysses met a violent death at Athens. In the month of June, I left Roumelia, to procure medical assistance for Trelawney, who was dangerously wounded; and, on the frivolous pretext of having left the camp without leave, I was detained a prisoner by the Government at Napoli.

CHAPTER IX.

THE aspect of affairs, after five years' struggle with her powerful foe, was now becoming threatening to the existence of Greece as a free nation. Colocotroni, though joined by almost all the chiefs of the Morea, had not assembled above 5000 men. The Moreots remained in their territory, and the inhabitants of the Morea seemed resolved on no further exertion. The President, Conduriotti, was absent from Napoli, at Hydra. Prince Demetrius Ipsilanti, as he had before done when Courschid Pacha's formidable army entered the Morea, now took the field with 300 men, and received the authority, but not the means, from the Government to raise 2000.

Ibrahim Pacha's force, including the garrisons of Navarino, Modon, and Coron, amounted to about 15,000 men. He extended his operations on either side of Navarino along the coast as far as Calamata and Arcadia; and, at the head of 6000 infantry and 300 cavalry, advanced in person on Tripolizza. The Egyptians having now penetrated into the heart of the mountainous passes and defiles of the Morea, an important blow was expected to be struck by Colocotroni; but no defence was attempted. On their approach the Greeks evacuated Tripolizza, setting fire to such goods as might be useful to the enemy; and the Egyptians entered the town three days after. On the 23d of June, Ibrahim Pacha's Mamelukes were seen under the walls of Napoli di Romania, capturing some camels, within gun-shot of the garrison, and his troops were at Argos, having traversed the Morea undisturbed and unimpeded, as if marching through the sandy plains of his own dominions.

The crisis of Greece seemed decisive. All Roumelia, save Athens, a few mountain-tops, and Messolunghi, was in the power of the enemy. Messolunghi, if not relieved, could not long hold out. In the Morea all resistance seemed at an end: the Greek fleet was dispersing, and the Hydriots spoke of abandoning their country, and seeking refuge with their families in America. The consternation was universal. The Government now thought of preparations, for which there was no longer time; of forming cavalry, and the few horses that were in Napoli were put in requisition. The command of the garrison was offered to Colonel Favrier, who had been absent from Greece, but had lately returned, accompanied by several officers, and proposed to the Government to organize 1000 regulars, for one year, with his own resources; but a crowded and unprovisioned fortified town, wanting in every thing needful for its defence, was a charge no one would accept at a moment

when it was too late, by any effort, to remedy past neglect. The command of the regulars was ceded to Colonel Favrier, and in this emergency every attention was shown to foreign officers. Those who embark in the cause of the Greeks must prepare for much suffering, to witness many scenes of wanton cruelty, encounter endless obstacles, arm themselves with inexhaustible patience, and seek their reward in the satisfaction of having added their mite to a good cause.

Ipsilanti had, with 500 men, taken up a position at the Mulos on the sea-side opposite Napoli, near Argos, and flanking the road from Tripolizza. Ibrahim Pacha, making, it was reported, a reconnoissance in person, was here wounded in the arm; and in consequence ordered the last battalion of his Moors, who were marching on Argos, to deploy on a hill which commanded the position, and make an attack; which Ipsilanti repulsed with great bravery, the

Moors filling the garden of the house, which he occupied, and a French officer, Mons. Graglia, was slightly wounded by his side. An officer of Colonel Favrier's, M. Le Croix, with two or three gun-boats, conducted a well-directed fire on the Turks, who retired, after losing 100 men.* An American officer, of the name of Muller, a young man of bravery and conduct, with ten Bulgarians, cleared the garden of the Moors, sword in hand, and their main body being already at Argos, they did not repeat the assault. Our small body of cavalry had

* The Prince, in his despatch to the Government, of the affair of the Mulos, stated the loss of the enemy at 400, which he mentioned to Le Croix ; and that he did not do so with any view to magnify his own exploits, as he had no other desire but to devote his life to his country, but he wished to make the most of the affair to raise the spirits of the people and soldiers in this moment of consternation; and Le Croix made a corresponding statement in his report: but the real loss amounted to 100 men, which does not argue much in favour of the intrepidity of Ibrahim Pacha's Moors; for the Mulos was by no means an advantageous or a strong position.

some unimportant skirmishes, which, however, made an imposing appearance, under the walls of the town. Through Coletti, and by the instances of my friend Emanuel Kalergi, with whom I now staid, liberty was allowed me, he being responsible for my appearance. We fell in near Napoli, with a party not exceeding our own force; but, though we were well mounted on fine Arabians, and the Greeks were the *elite* of the garrison of Napoli, they would not make or stand a charge, and after skirmishing with pistol shots, and having three horses wounded, (no men) the Mamelukes forming, drove us within range of the guns of the fortress.

Though reiterated proclamations were issued for *levée en masse*, to march and join Colocotroni and Ipsilanti, and all shops and coffee-houses were closed, the streets of Napoli continued crowded with thousands of soldiers and armed men.

After remaining two days at Argos, burning

the villages and devastating the plain, Ibrahim Pacha returned to Tripolizza, and a second time passed the long and perilous defile on that route unattacked. Ipsilanti could not assemble troops to harass his march, as they dispersed to finish the plunder of the deserted villages around. *

Ibrahim Pacha had neither artillery nor provisions, and unless he expected the co-ope-

* Our horsemen, on the Turks withdrawing, had scoured the country as far as Argos; but, uncertain whether a detachment of the enemy might not have remained, only four of our party of thirty at first entered the town, which was still partly burning. The town and the surrounding plain presented a dismal scene of the ravages of war. The wind passing raised clouds of smoke from the different villages, and the sunk fire of the houses; while the dreary stillness that reigned in Argos was only broken by the clattering of our horses' hoofs on the broken tiles that strewed the streets, or the falling in of another building adding to the work of devastation and ruin. A small bird or two flying from one scorched branch to another of the once flourishing trees, as if seeking their place of wonted rest, and the domestic cat, still haunting the spot of its former threshold, were the only living objects that met the eye.

ration of his fleet or treachery at Napoli, it seemed an extraordinary movement. Napoli was a scene of uproar and confusion, and a general pillage was expected to take place. The populace began a massacre of the few Turks who were living among them, but the Government being informed of it, they immediately put a stop to it, and the Turks were collected together, and a guard placed over them. A massacre of 150 Turkish prisoners took place at Hydra, owing to a Turkish slave on board an Hydriot vessel having set fire to her.

Circumstances now obliged me to leave Napoli. Not being very solicitous of the imputation of having left the Greeks in the hour of danger, without entering into particulars, I sent two letters relative to the circumstance which determined me to do so; one, in bad French, to Mavrocordato, the other to Capt. Hamilton. I have already mentioned that I was imprisoned, on the pretext of having left the camp without leave.

LETTER I.

A Monsieur Mavrocordato.

Napoli di Romania, 9th Juin (G. style) 1825.

MONSIEUR,

Vous n'avez pas l'excuse des autres barbares de votre pays. Vous n'ignorez ni les usages du pays dont je prends ma naissance, ni ce que doit attendre un étranger qui vient ici, d'un Gouvernement qui professe des principes libres, mais qui au contraire s'obstine à pratiquer les actes les plus tyranniques et plus injustes; mais je n'entrerai pas dans une discussion politique. *Vous* connoissez bien les raisons que j'avois de ne me pas presenter à ces authorités qui sont sous vos ordres. Et vous savez bien aussi que dans des pareilles circonstances même chez nous, où regne la discipline militaire la plus sévère on en depense en faveur de quelque malheur particulier. Mais pourquoi m'adresser à vous, commençant par l'injustice et prédeterminé de ne me rendre aucune. L'accusation est une pretexte si frivole qu'elle ne demande pas presque une reponse, et qui ne fera que vous rendre meprisable aussi en Europe, si j'ai le bonheur d'échapper aux coups de vos assassins.

W. H. HUMPHREYS.

To further justify my opinion that Mavrocordato, if he dared, was capable of any villany, I will state one anecdote of him:—Three or

four Frenchmen, whom enthusiasm for the Greeks had induced to desert from their ship at Smyrna, had come to Napoli in an open boat, and were received in the regulars, as common soldiers. On their vessel coming to Napoli, they were demanded by their captain; and they, fearing they might be given up, attempted to leave the town, which might easily and ought to have been, connived at by the Greeks. Two of them had succeeded in escaping. Mavrocordato had one called, assured him of his protection, and that they should not be given up if they remained in the regiment, and desired him to find his comrades and bring them back, which the man, trusting to his professions, did; on which they were all seized and delivered up to be shot. This shows that the appellation by which Mavrocordato is known among the Suliotes of Mamroscotato, black-hearted (literally, black livered) is well merited. He is not so ready to comply with demands, when his own interests

are at stake. On the approach of an English brig of war the Weasel, off Messolunghi, to demand restitution for piracies committed by Messolunghi privateers, he mounted his horse, and left the town, to avoid the explanation.

LETTER II.

To Captain Hamilton, R. N. Cambrian Frigate.

Napoli, G. Style, June 17th, 1825.

SIR,

It appears the Greek Government have already mentioned to you the affair of the cave of Ulysses. How they have stated the affair I know not; but Captain Hamilton, who has been so long on the Mediterranean station, must be well aware, not every word from a Greek merits belief. I am now under an arrest on that account. The plea they state is groundless. They arrest me because I left the camp without leave. I did not do so. I had the permission of my general to go to the cave, when I was first informed of the atrocious attempt to assassinate Trelawney. I found him in imminent danger, from want of medical assistance. I came instantly to Napoli to procure it, without returning to the camp it is true, as going and returning would have occupied two days. I ask you, as a military man, whether, *in our service,* I should not have been perfectly justified in so doing: and *here,* where military regulations and

discipline have *not an existence*, it is absurd to a degree, and in the case of *a native* captain, would never have been thought of. The villain Fenton, the perpetrator of the act, was, some months ago, engaged by Mavrocordato to murder both Ulysses and Trelawney. I was then with Ulysses, before he joined the Turks, and Fenton at that time carried on the intrigue, under the pretence, to us (true or false) of entrapping Mavrocordato. A Mr. Jarvis, an American, now here, was Mavrocordato's chief agent in that affair: it passed over: but the other day, Trelawney was attempted to be assassinated by this same Fenton, and immediately after, Ulysses was killed (how, Heaven knows) at Athens. I am arrested and imprisoned, among thieves and assassins, because I came for a surgeon for Trelawney. What I now demand, is either to be set at liberty, or, if they have any charge against me, to be tried. I am vexed to find myself obliged to occupy your attention on my affairs, but I should feel obliged if you would exercise your influence in my favour.

I have the honour to be, &c.

W. H. HUMPHREYS.

Captain Hamilton, whose active benevolence on the Mediterranean station had given him great influence with both Greek and Turk, being with his squadron, at Napoli, removed any difficulty I might otherwise have found in leaving it. Had that not been the case, Captain

Deriné, of the French frigate lying there, had politely offered me his protection. I received a passage from the Hon. Captain Abbot, on board the Rose sloop, and sailed for Zante; not sorry to find myself again in the society of my countrymen, and experiencing their kindness, both on board and afterwards on shore, from the first authorities, and the very gentlemanly officers of the 90th, at that Island. We met forty sail of the Egyptian fleet, sailing towards Alexandria, and arrived at Zante, as the Constantinopolitan fleet, fifty-three sail, including eight frigates, passed and blockaded Messolunghi, a squadron of twelve sail only being detached to Patras; but this overwhelming force remained nearly a month off Messolunghi, making but a few ill-directed attacks with gun-boats, which were completely repulsed by the garrison; and the Greek fleet, under Admiral Miaulis, of twenty-two sail, attended by six fire-ships, arriving, he made good his entrance, and sinking

one Turkish brig, and burning another, relieved and provisioned Messolunghi; on which the Turks sailed away for the Levant, and Messolunghi will most probably hold out, till the winter coming on breaks up the Turkish camp.

The ultimate result of this contest considered, putting the interference or support of foreign powers out of the question, appearances incline against the probability of the Greeks being able to maintain their independence. Opposed to the Porte alone, the Greeks might hope to struggle on for some time; all the Sultan's operations being carried on with such inactivity and want of enterprize. But the better conducted plans and policy of the Pacha of Egypt seems to exceed their strength; and there is only a chance for them, in the event of the Pacha being embroiled with the Porte. But, independent of external foes, the internal state of the country affords no prospect of consolidation; no end to factions and dissensions; no possibility of their

lands being cultivated, or any commerce carried on, and consequently no improvement of their revenues. However the revolution may end, if left to themselves, a long state of misery, and a protracted, barbarous, and cruel warfare, cannot fail to ensue, debarring the Greeks from all chance of present improvement.

After witnessing the tumultuous state of the Morea, the aspect of Zante formed a pleasing contrast. The Ionian Greeks were increasing in wealth and prosperity under a firm and just administration; enjoying tranquillity, and made happy, in despite of themselves, by a Government, which placed in an embarrassing situation by its vicinity and immediate connexion with the belligerent powers, had undeviatingly pursued an enlightened policy, influenced by the dictates of humanity.

Captain Hamilton had arranged the affair concerning Trelawney with the Greek Government, and a brig of war was appointed for his

conveyance from the country; when I embraced an offer made me to go to England with Captain Demetrius Miaulis, and in August 1825, bade farewell to Greece.

It is a truth, the Greeks are in a state of the lowest moral degradation. Self-interest is the sōle guide of all their actions: but what they once were, we know; and, if freed from a state of debasing slavery, that they will improve is certain. With all their faults, they are highly gifted; hence an interesting people. They possess a fine genius, and an acuteness in intellect, a tact, and a natural grace in manner, unequalled by any other nation: they can well assume the semblance of an amiable character, and in time the reality may also be added. But in the interior, should future circumstances permit, let them send their youth for education to those countries where honour and true patriotism are yet something more than a name; and then only may Modern Greece hope to see such talents as Mavrocor-

dato's, unperverted by a Fanariot education, and such characters as the Ipsilantis, Marco Botzari, Maiulis, and Canaris, multiplied among her sons; then may she hope to have good Statesmen and Patriots, good Generals and good Admirals, able to guide their country to prosperity and power!

APPENDIX.

SINCE my arrival in England, after a passage of nearly two months, in the brig Cicerone, I learn from the most authentic sources, that an important and highly favourable change has taken place in Grecian affairs. In the large and populous Island of Candia, considered completely subdued by Ibrahim Pacha, the inhabitants have resumed their arms, and their operations have been attended with all the success their unexpected and determined rising deserved. Too confident and too unguarded, the Egyptian gar-

risons were ill-prepared for defence, and a body of about 1500 Cretans arriving in boats from the Morea, attacked and carried the fortress of Graubouza, situated on a small island near the main, commanding the best fort of Candia; and in which they found twenty-seven brass guns, two only of which were useless, besides twenty light field-pieces, musquets, a small supply of provisions, and a large quantity of powder, though in a damaged state. Following up their advantages, they entered into the interior of the country, the small numbers of the Turks retreating before them, while the Ifaziotius, Kidonutius, and many other inland provinces, rose in arms, united their operations, and the fall of Kisamas, another fortress in possession of the Turks, followed that of Graubouza.

The inhabitants of the Morea appear also to have awakened at last from their stupor, and, again headed by their old leaders, oppose the formidable Ibrahim Pacha with great success. An engagement took place on the 16th of August with the Egyptians

and inhabitants of Arcadia, posted in the village of Cambonoti, near Figalia. The Egyptians, advancing from Megapopuli, were here opposed by the Greeks, and completely repulsed with the loss of 250 men killed; while that of the Greeks, firing from behind their tambours, was only three killed, and five wounded; and, pursuing the enemy as far as the valley of Megapopuli, they there made thirty men and Deri Bey prisoners. The Bey died of his wounds five hours afterwards. Three colours and a quantity of provisions and ammunition remained in the possession of the Arcadians. Another body of Greeks assembling in the mountains of Lekio, Ibrahim Pacha marched against them, apparently determined to revenge his late defeat, but was again repulsed. The attack was made in good order, and the defence of the Greeks, vastly inferior in numbers, firm and determined. The right wing of Ibrahim Pacha's Moorish regulars, retreating from the well-aimed fire of the Greeks, communicated confusion to their centre; and notwithstanding the Pacha's exertions, his ex-

hortations and threats, they fled in disorder, leaving 300 dead on the field, throwing away their arms in their precipitate retreat. The Greeks pursued till night-fall, completely dispersing them, and making several prizes of arms and horses. Ibrahim Pacha, after his discomfiture, retired on Tripolizza, and soon after towards the fortresses of Navarino and Modon; but on Colocotroni's approach at the head of a large force, after receiving reinforcements from the garrisons of the fortresses, the Pacha again occupied Tripolizza, and attempted to fortify the mills of Daria, occupying a position on the mountain of Piania, which commanded them. The Greeks, however, made a gallant and successful attack, and carried this position; forcing the Turks to retire on Tripolizza with considerable loss, and possessing themselves of the flocks and cattle the Turks had before collected in the country. Colocotroni, with 10,000 men, was at Dervena on the 28th of August. Coliopulo, lately joined by the gallant Niketas, encamped near Tripolizza, while another body of 4000 continually harassed

the Turks. It was expected Colocotroni would attack Ibrahim Pacha, if he ventured to move from Tripolizza, from which place he will soon be forced from want of provisions.

The troops of Contahis Pacha, besieging Missolunghi, remained still before the walls, but without making any advances; while the garrison of Missolunghi had made several successful sorties; and the Greeks under Generals Karaiscaki, and Giavella, active and enterprizing captains, collected on the opposite mountains, and harassed the rear of the enemy, and were preparing to occupy the grand pass of Mackrimovo, to cut off the enemy's communications.

In Eastern Greece, the Turks were still at Salona, but badly supplied with provisions, and showed no disposition to attempt any further operations. By sea, Admiral Miaulis, since raising the blockade of Missolunghi, had been cruising with thirty sail in the Archipelago, without having encountered the Turkish fleet; and lately passed the Island of Zante, to seek them in the Adriatic, report stating them to

be laying off Sekoudra. The gallant Canaris failed in the object of their attack on the port of Alexandria, owing to contrary winds; but they have shown the enemy what they have to expect from the enterprize and daring of these active Islanders.

THE END.

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